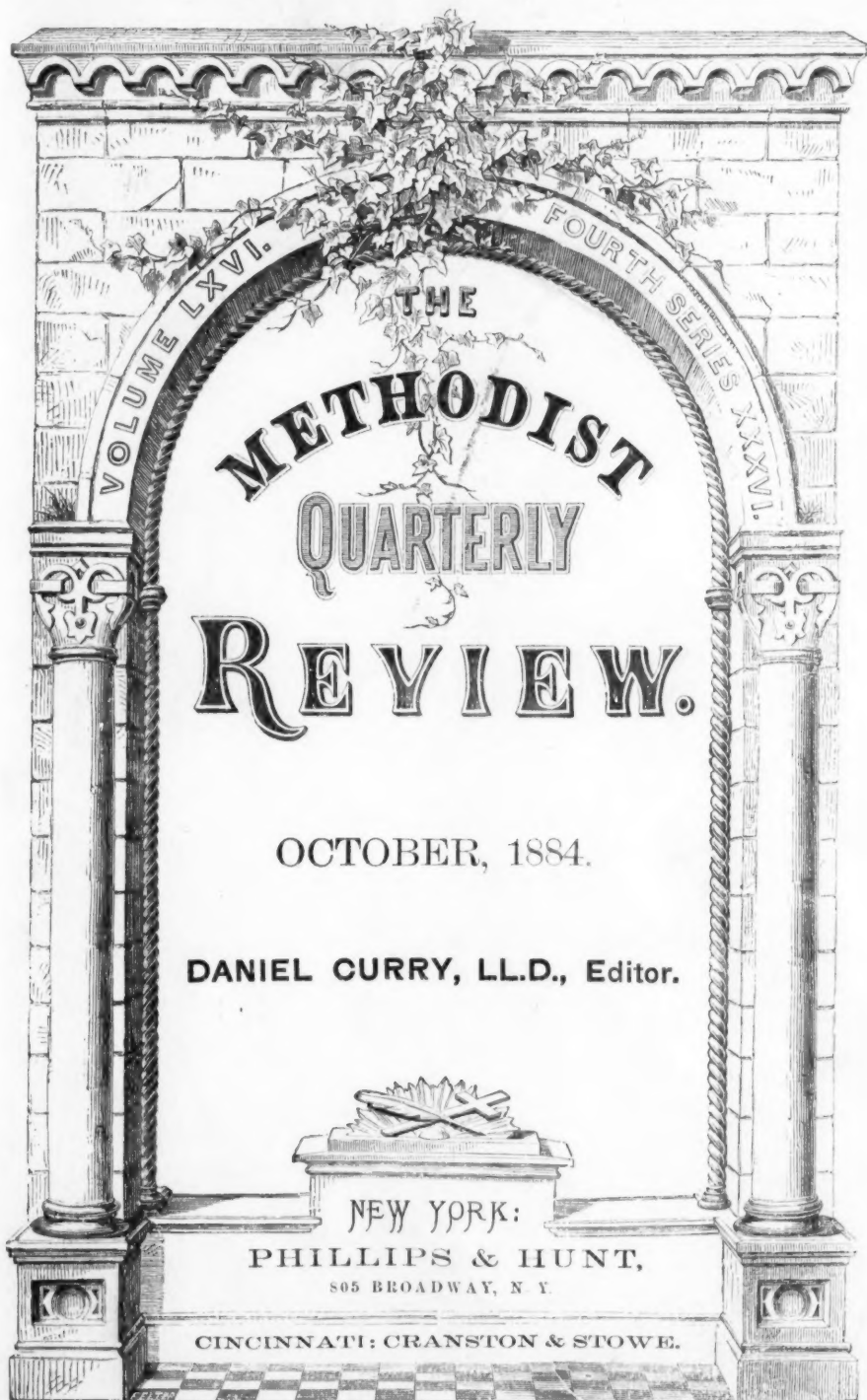


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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1884.

ART. I. — THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

IN the preceding number of this Quarterly we gave a brief history of the Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch, and at the conclusion (p. 419) indicated, as results of that criticism which ought in all fairness to be conceded, (1) that the Pentateuch contains some passages which were not written by Moses; (2) that it contains documents of various dates and authorship; (3) that many of its laws were unknown or neglected during the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian captivity; and (4) that the last four books exhibit different stages and forms of legislation. Let us now inquire if these four propositions are inconsistent with the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

I. PASSAGES NOT WRITTEN BY MOSES.

Our space will not allow a full discussion of all the passages in the Pentateuch which have been thought to be inconsistent with Mosaic authorship; nor need we, for our purpose, more than mention some of the more prominent examples. Those most frequently cited are Gen. xii, 6; xiii, 7, where the observation is made that "the Canaanite was then in the land;" the mention of Dan in Gen. xiv, 14, and Deut. xxxiv, 1, a name not given to the place until the times of the Judges, (Judg.

xviii, 29 :) Gen. xxxvi, 31, where a list of Edomite kings is given who reigned "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Exod. xvi, 35, contains a statement which seems inappropriate at that place, breaks the otherwise natural connection of verses 34 and 36, and may not unreasonably be believed to be an interpolation. The laudatory remark touching Moses in Num. xii, 3, is hardly such as a meek man would write about himself, and no one believes that Moses wrote the account of his own death in Deut. xxxiv. The words in Deut. ii, 12, have been thought to point to a time when Israel had taken possession of the promised land, and the whole context, verses 10-12, and also verses 20-23 of the same chapter, and verses 9-11 of chap. iii, may easily have been an editorial addition. So, too, the words, "Unto this day," in Deut. iii, 14, most naturally imply a time subsequent to the days of Moses.

Some of the above passages, we doubt not, may be legitimately explained so as to harmonize with the idea that Moses wrote them. Thus the statements made in Gen. xii, 6, and xiii, 7, do not necessarily imply that the Canaanite was not in the land at the time of the writer, for his purpose may have been to show that Abram was not the first dweller in that land; the Canaanites and the Perizzites had already settled there. So, too, Deut. ii, 12, is most accurately translated: "Even as Israel has done to the land of his possession, which Jehovah has given to them;" and this might well have been written by Moses after the Israelites had taken possession of the land east of the Jordan. But granting that all these, and probably other passages also, are of later date than the time of Moses, what must be our conclusion? Two methods of accounting for such facts at once suggest themselves: (1) The books of which these passages form a part were not composed until sometime after the Mosaic age, or (2) these passages are additions made by a later hand. Either of these suppositions is sufficient to account for the facts; but these facts alone are not sufficient to determine the date or authorship of the Pentateuch, taken as a whole. If we have other reasons sufficient to convince us that these books are in substance the work of Moses, or originated in his day, the class of passages cited above present no considerable difficulty, for it is perfectly reasonable that such additions may have been inserted by the hands of editors and transcribers.

"This might be a fair enough thing to say," observes W. R. Smith, ("Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 322,) "if any positive proof were forthcoming that Moses wrote the mass of the Pentateuch." But this way of meeting our argument is an adroit attempt, characteristic of this school of critics, to throw the burden of *proving* the Mosaic authorship on those who see no sufficient reason to reject the ancient and uniform tradition. This may fairly be pronounced a specious movement to shift responsibility. The burden of proof is manifestly on the side of those who deny the Mosaic authorship. An ancient and uncontradicted belief of centuries is entitled to the first consideration, and should not be rejected until valid evidence of its falsity has been produced. Especially is the principle to be insisted on in the case of a tradition so well grounded as this one. The last four books of the Pentateuch claim over and over again, in the plainest and most positive manner, to be a record of what the Lord communicated to Moses and commanded him to set before the Israelitish people. The three middle books are filled with details of what "Jehovah spake unto Moses." We find no law or statement thus introduced which contains any thing inconsistent with such claims. No character in the Old Testament has such a unique grandeur as Moses, and there is none besides to whom such a body of laws can be so fittingly attributed. The subsequent history of Israel contains numerous incidental allusions to laws, customs, and institutions of which the Pentateuch makes him, under God, the author. The prophets and psalms abound in references to the exodus and the ministry of Moses in such ways as to recognize that period as the greatest epoch of the national history. Finally, our Lord himself accepted this tradition, and expressed himself in language which cannot be naturally explained without admitting that he corroborated the common belief of his nation. John v, 46, 47; vii, 19, 22. Such a tradition and belief must, according to all legitimate principles of criticism, be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of the Mosaic authorship. It may not be positive or conclusive *proof* of such authorship, but it has the first right to stand until proof of its incorrectness is forthcoming. Where is the unbiassed student, or where the candid critic, who will not concede that such a line of evidence is less easily set aside than the occurrence of occasional

passages which may be easily and legitimately explained as subsequent additions?

It has been claimed that the expression, "Beyond the Jordan," in such passages as Deut. i, 1, 5, (wrongly translated "On this side Jordan,") and the words used for "southward" and "westward," (Heb. *נֶגֶב*, *toward the Negeb*, and *יָם*, *toward the sea*, Exod. xxvi, 18, 22,) in describing the sides of the tabernacle, prove that the writer lived in Western Palestine. For, to Moses in Moab, "beyond the Jordan" could only mean west of the Jordan, and at Sinai the sea was not westward, and the Negeb was to the north. But this argument ignores the fact that the Hebrew language was formed in Palestine, and such words and phrases had become fixed in common usage as far back as the time of Abram. Gen. xiii, 14. They would accordingly be used by a Hebrew, whether writing in Egypt, Arabia, or Babylon. It was as appropriate for Moses, in the Sinaitic peninsula, to speak of the Negeb and seaward sides of the tabernacle as it was for Daniel and Ezekiel to use these words by the rivers of Babylon. Dan. viii, 4, 9; xi, 5, 29; Ezek. xlviii, 10, 16.

II. DOCUMENTS INCORPORATED IN THE PENTATEUCH.

That the Pentateuch contains ancient documents of various dates and authorship is readily conceded. The wonder is that any one should ever have disputed this proposition, especially in regard to Genesis. This ancient narrative recounts events which are alleged by the writer himself to have occurred centuries and millenniums before Moses's day. The only rational supposition is that written documents and oral traditions were employed in its composition, and this hypothesis holds equally well, whether we attribute the work to Moses or to some other writer. But sober students will be slow to commend, much less to follow, the attempts of critics to detect and dissect the particular sources, and determine the work of each writer even to the divisions of single verses! This microscopic refinement of criticism will be likely to refute itself. There is not an ancient work extant which, if subjected to such a process, could not be shown to have come from a variety of authors; and not a few learned treatises of modern times might be greatly improved, in the judgment of wearied readers, if only shorn of

much that exact criticism might justly pronounce redundant, obscure, or slovenly.

A great deal has been said about the substantial agreement of critics concerning the ancient sources, and Prof. Ladd exhibits, in eight pages of his recent work,* the comparative harmony of Knobel, Schrader, Dillmann, and Wellhausen, in their analysis of the Hexateuch. But those same tables also serve admirably to show, by their numerous minute variations, the purely subjective principles of this species of criticism. There need be little, if any, dispute about the facts detailed; the controversy must turn upon the use made of the facts. Let it be assumed that the use of Elohim, or Jehovah, or some other divine name, must always indicate diverse authorship; let it be admitted that all differences of style and redundancy and repetition are proof of so many different "sources," and the work of analytical criticism is very simple. The harmony of critics adopting these principles is very much of the nature of a mechanical necessity. It scarcely needs the learning of a Knobel or a Dillmann to perform such labor. An ordinary school-boy, with a few pedagogical directions, might go through the Bible and pick out and classify such distinctions as Elohist and Jehovistic chapters and verses. Repetitions and marked differences of style are recognized by every careful reader; and few, if any, will dispute that many of these differences, and the peculiar use of the names Elohim and Jehovah in some parts of Genesis, are most naturally explained by the hypothesis of different documents appropriated by the author of the book, and by him wrought over into one continuous narrative. The real question of criticism, we repeat, is not about the facts, but about theories assuming to rest upon these facts. The critics of one school affirm the existence of an original Elohist document, running through the entire Hexateuch, and they are positive that the Jehovistic and other portions are later supplements. But the most recent school has changed to the very reverse of this, and conclude that the Elohist was the final redactor of the whole. Why should we follow either of these schools? Why may not Moses himself have gathered up the different traditions and documents, and compiled the Book of Genesis, and, in the course of forty

* "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," vol. i, pp. 517-525. New York, 1883.

years, have added the other books, which from time immemorial have been ascribed to him? Later editors have added here and there a sentence, and Eleazar or Joshua (comp. Josh. xiv, 1; xxiv, 26) might very appropriately have appended the account of the great lawgiver's death, and, indeed, have compiled the whole of Deuteronomy, using in the main the last sayings of Moses; but such admissions furnish no valid argument against the Mosaic authorship of the great body of the work.

III. IGNORANCE AND NEGLECT OF THE LAW AFTER THE AGE OF MOSES.

It appears from the extant records of Israelitish history that the laws of the Pentateuch were either unknown or else very generally neglected and violated during most of the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian exile. In proof of this we may cite the story of Micah and the Levite, (Judg. xvii, xviii,) the sacrilege of Eli's sons, (1 Sam. ii,) the offering of Jephthah's daughter as a human sacrifice, (Judg. xi,) the rash vows and illegal acts of Saul, and the wide-spread habit of worship at high places, the idolatry of Solomon, the calf-worship at Bethel and Dan, the Baal worship under Ahab and his heathen wife, and the multiplied idolatries of later kings. Facts of this character may be adduced in abundance, and critics of the school of Kuenen and Wellhausen appeal to them as evidence that the Mosaic laws and ritual were at the time unknown. Amos's mention of "the high places of Isaac" and the "sanctuaries of Israel" (chap. vii, 9) is cited to show that worship at high places was the ancient and hereditary practice of the nation, against which they knew no law. The facts cited certainly show either great ignorance or great neglect and violation of the laws of Moses; but do they warrant the inference that those laws were not then in existence? We answer, No; and for the following reasons:

1. Neglect, violation, or ignorance of sacred laws is no proof of their non-existence. According to Hosea iv, 2, swearing, falsehood, theft, adultery, and murder abounded in his day; but is this any evidence that the commandments of the decalogue prohibiting those crimes were then non-existent or unknown? Saul's fell purpose to murder David might be as fairly cited to prove that no law against homicide was then

extant. The whole drift and implication of the history of those times show that it was a period of violence and neglect of God's laws. How far those laws were known we cannot now determine; but there is much reason to suppose that, from Joshua to Josiah, the great mass of the Israelites knew very little of the sacred books of their nation. Almost universal ignorance of the Holy Scriptures prevailed in Europe for more than six hundred years before the Lutheran Reformation; more easily, we believe, might a similar ignorance of the Book of the Law have prevailed for as many centuries in Israel before the reign of Josiah.

2. We have no need to assume that even great prophets, like Samuel and Elijah, must have been familiar with the Books of Moses. They may have known much of the sacred laws and customs, as such, without any particular acquaintance with the books in which they were written. Neither they nor the later prophets were representatives of the sanctuary or ritual, but they were sent forth with the fresh, living oracle of God, which every-where extols the spirit rather than the letter. The keynote of Old Testament prophetism was sounded by Samuel himself, who, though reared at the house of Jehovah in Shiloh, (1 Sam. i, 9, 24; iii, 3,) and after its desolation offering burnt-offerings at other places, (1 Sam. vii, 9, 10,) said to Saul: "Hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Jehovah? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." 1 Sam. xv, 22. But how much Samuel, or Elijah, or Amos, or Hosea knew, or did not know, about the written laws, or any literary documents of their nation, must be matter of conjecture, and cannot be made the basis of an argument. The import and value of any allusion they make must be determined by valid exegesis; but it always awakens suspicion to find a modern writer assuming to say what Elijah or Amos *did not know*, and then proceeding to rest an argument or build a theory upon such supposed ignorance. Suppose Elijah had never seen or read or heard of the books of Moses, does it follow that no such books existed? According to 1 Kings xix, 10, he did not know that there were seven thousand in Israel who refused to worship Baal. Hundreds of our most excellent citizens have never read the Constitution of the United States,

and an immense portion of our national literature reveals no hint of its existence. Multitudes among us who have been made familiar from childhood with the great names and facts of sacred history never read any considerable portion of the Bible, and some such often betray lamentable ignorance. A United States Senator is reported as saying: "He trembled like Belshazzar when Paul said to him, Thou art the man!" There might have been seven thousand copies of the Pentateuch in existence at Elijah's time, and all of them unknown to him, and out of the way of the most conspicuous persons of that period.

3. There is evidence, however, in the historical books, the Prophets and the Psalms, to indicate the priority of the legislation recorded in the Pentateuch. We meet with numerous allusions which are best explained by accepting the traditional belief of the antiquity of the books of Moses. The tabernacle and central place of worship was at first established at Shiloh. Josh. xviii, 1, 10; xix, 51. This fact is again recognized in Judg. xviii, 31. In 1 Sam. i, 3, 9, 24, the house of God is still at Shiloh, and thither all Israel bring their offerings, (ii, 22, 29.) The ministering priests are descendants of Aaron, (ii, 27, 28.) The ark is known as "the ark of the covenant of Jehovah," (iv, 3; comp. Exod. xxv, 21; Num. x, 33; xiv, 44,) but when captured by the Philistines, and while separated from the tabernacle, the glory departed from Israel. 1 Sam. iv, 21, 22; vii, 2. This fact largely explains the irregularities of worship and the demoralization that prevailed thereafter. Comp. 1 Kings iii, 2. The tabernacle with its priestly service was removed to Nob, (1 Sam. xxi, 1-7,) and afterward to Gibeon. 1 Kings iii, 4; 1 Chron. xvi, 39. David brought the ark to Jerusalem, and instituted a provisional worship there, (2 Sam. vi,) and under Solomon the temple became the great national sanctuary, which all Israel recognized as the place where Jehovah recorded his name. 1 Kings viii, 29; comp. Deut. xii, 11. The prominence of the priests and the ark at the dedication, and the numerous allusions, in 1 Kings viii, to the Exodus, the ministry of Moses, and the language of our present Pentateuch, imply the previous existence both of the Levitical and the Deuteronomic code. The disruption of the kingdom under Rehoboam, and Jeroboam's shrewd policy of

turning the national heart away from Jerusalem, (1 Kings xii,) abundantly explain the disorder and idolatry that followed. In the light of this history, the notion that the worship at Bethel and Dan and other local sanctuaries represents the ancient ante-Mosaic cultus, against which there was as yet no law, appears in the highest degree absurd. The prophets thenceforward address the nation as rebellious and backslidden children. Hosea proclaims that Israel has apostatized from Jehovah, until the many precepts of his written law have become a strange thing. Hos. viii, 12. Amos declares that Judah also has despised the law of Jehovah, and has not kept his commandments. Amos ii, 4. Isaiah complains that the entire nation had become utterly corrupt. Isa. i, 4-6. The older Psalms recognize Zion as the holy hill, (Psa. ii, 6; iii, 4,) Jehovah dwelling in his holy temple, (xi, 4,) and the duty of observing his statutes, (xviii, 22.) These and other similar facts imply the previous existence of the substance of the Mosaic history and legislation, and utterly nullify all *e silentio* arguments against the traditional opinion of the Mosaic books.

IV. RELATION OF THE LEVITICAL AND DEUTERONOMIC CODES.

Until the rise of the new critical school, represented by Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, Deuteronomy was believed to be of later origin than the other books of the Pentateuch. The contrary theory, propounded in 1835 by Von Böhlen, Vatke, and George, obtained little currency, and such German critics as Schrader and Dillmann still maintain that Deuteronomy is the later work. But the critics of both these schools agree that the Book of Deuteronomy originated in the latter period of the Jewish monarchy, and its main portions constituted "the Book of the Law" which was discovered by Hilkiah. Three questions accordingly present themselves for our consideration: 1. What evidence exists to show that the book discovered by Hilkiah consisted solely of Deuteronomy? 2. Where is the proof that Deuteronomy, or any considerable portion of it, was first written in the times of Manasseh or Josiah? 3. What is the real relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch?

1. What evidence exists to show that the book discovered by Hilkiah consisted of Deuteronomy only? It is called "the

Book of the Law," and "the Book of the Covenant." 2 Kings xxii, 8, 11; xxiii, 2, 21; comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv, 14, 15, 30; xxxv, 12. The reforms instituted by Josiah were warranted by laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, as well as in Deuteronomy. Did the king destroy idolatrous images? This was enjoined in Exod. xxiii, 24, 33; xxxiv, 12-17, and Num. xxxiii, 51, 52. Did he put down the cruel worship of Molech? The only places in the Pentateuch where this god is mentioned by name are Lev. xviii, 21, and xx, 2-5. Did he abolish witchcraft? That also is condemned in the law of Leviticus, (xix, 31; xx, 27.) And the law of the Passover appears in Exodus, (xii; xxiii, 15; xxxiv, 18,) Leviticus, (xxiii, 5-8,) and Numbers, (ix, 2, 3.) Why then assume that Josiah's "law-book" consisted solely of Deuteronomy? That it contained Deuteronomy is not disputed, but when we are told that there is no evidence that Josiah had any thing more than Deut. xii-xxvi on which to base his reforms, it is ample and complete reply to say that there is also no evidence that this "Deuteronomic Code" was all his book contained. The plea that he did not observe some commandments which are found in other parts of the Pentateuch is nullified by the fact that he did not, so far as appears from the history, observe numerous things which are enjoined in Deuteronomy. There exists, therefore, no valid evidence that the Book of the Law or Book of the Covenant mentioned in 2 Kings xxii, 8, and xxiii, 2, contained Deuteronomy only.*

2. What evidence exists to show that the Book of Deuteronomy was first written at or near the time of Josiah's reign?

It is alleged that the style of composition is notably different from that of the other books of the Pentateuch. This is admitted by all, but is sufficiently accounted for by the nature of its subject-matter. It professes to be in substance a series of discourses delivered by Moses at the conclusion of his long life and ministry. Years probably intervened between the composition of these discourses and most of his other writings, and the time, the occasion, and the purpose of Deuteronomy, ac-

* "Of the finding of a book there is no doubt; and the arguments, such as they are, which prove, or are thought to prove, that it was Deuteronomy, a part of the five books, are equally valid to prove that it was the whole of the five books."—"Deuteronomy the People's Book," p. 16. London, 1877. See also pp. 18-23.

cording to the traditional belief, would warrant the expectation of finding in such a repetition of history and laws a different style from that of previous books. "The fervor and warmth," says Eichhorn, "which breathe in every line, make it apparent that countless emotions in the soul of the great man crowded themselves into his writing, and set on every page the seal of a work composed on the verge of the grave."* As for the character of the Hebrew employed in Deuteronomy, Kleinert has adduced controlling evidence to show that it savors of an older time than the later period of the Jewish monarchy. He shows by the citation of numerous examples that it resembles the previous Books of Moses more than it does the Books of Jeremiah and Kings.†

It is argued that the new order of things introduced by Josiah, and based upon this book, is evidence that the book itself could not have been in existence before. This argument, however, rests upon the assumption, already shown to be unsound, that national ignorance and non-observance of laws are proof of their non-existence. But, on the other hand, if Deuteronomy, or any considerable portion of "the law of Moses," originated in the days of Josiah, and was first made public as narrated in 2 Kings xxii, it was manifestly a forgery. The more radical critics do not hesitate to acknowledge this, and treat it as a pious fraud. Others endeavor to explain it as a literary fiction or a legal fiction, not intended to deceive, but merely to put in practical shape the doctrines of the prophets. But the subject-matter and historical position of the work are incompatible with any such hypothesis. We cannot conceive how a code of laws, originating under such circumstances, could have become the basis and rule of a national religion so pure and lofty. A writer of Josiah's time might, indeed, have published a book in the name of Moses. Poems, proverbs, philosophical disquisitions, and prophetic books have often been put forth under assumed names. Perhaps the Book of Ecclesiastes is a work of this kind, put forth, for obvious reasons, in the name of Solomon. We have numerous apocryphal and pseudepigraphal works of this character. But such books never had any notable influence on the national government

* "Einleitung in das A. T.," vol. ii, p. 405. Leipzig, 1803.

† "Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker," p. 235. Leipzig, 1872.

and worship. Such a production, which every body knew to be a fiction, could have had no authority to warrant the innovations undertaken by Josiah. Why should a book written in the reign of Manasseh or Josiah contain commandments to exterminate Canaanites and Amalekites, (Deut. xx, 16-18; xxv, 17-19,) tribes which were not then in existence? Was it done to give the work the tone of an ancient writing? Such a supposition would only make the fraudulent character of the book more glaring. It is for us easier a thousand times to believe the traditional authorship of the Pentateuch than to accept the hypothesis of such a forgery and fraud, in which Hilkiah, the priest, and Huldah, the prophetess, joined together to deceive the king and the whole Jewish nation, and succeeded so completely as to make a fictitious book the legal and constitutional basis of the national religion. Nay, this surreptitious introduction of the Book of the Law was so deftly done that it raised no suspicion or outcry at the time, and for more than two thousand years has been stupidly supposed to be a genuine work of Moses!

3. But what is the real relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch? It is claimed by the Wellhausen school that there are three different codes or groups of laws traceable in the books of Moses, of which the most ancient is the Book of the Covenant, embracing Exodus xx-xxiii, adapted to an early period of the national life, and recognizing a plurality of altars or local sanctuaries. Next in order is the Deuteronomic Code, which aimed to abolish the local sanctuaries and centralize the national worship at Jerusalem. The Levitical legislation followed at a later date, was first planned during the exile, and appears in outline in Ezekiel's writings, but was worked over and incorporated in the three middle books of our Pentateuch by Ezra, or one of his contemporaries. Deuteronomy, accordingly, becomes the oldest book of the Pentateuch, and the other books, in their principal contents and present form, are post-exilian.

That different stages of legislation are traceable in the Pentateuch, and that the Book of Leviticus contains a more elaborate priestly code than appears in Deuteronomy may be readily admitted. Our present concern is to know whether these codes are inconsistent with each other, or of such a nature that

they might not all have originated in the times of Moses. The main arguments against the traditional belief rest upon an alleged inconsistency in the different codes touching (1) places of sacrificial worship, (2) the offerings required, (3) the number of feasts, and (4) the distinction between priests and Levites.

1. *Places of Sacrificial Worship.* In Exod. xx, 24, provision is made for building an altar "in all places (כָּל־מָקוֹם) where I record my name," but according to Deut. xii, 5, *ff.*, all the offerings of Israel must be presented at a central sanctuary, "which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there." The Levitical legislation recognizes a central altar, (Exod. xxix, 18, 38; Lev. i, 3, 5; iv, 4; vi, 14,) but its provisions are applicable both to the tabernacle in the wilderness, or to the temple at Jerusalem.

There is no inconsistency between these different legal regulations. The first legislation, made at Sinai, provides for an unsettled people, contemplates future journeyings, and the probable need of successive altars at different places. It does not allow the erection of altars on every high hill, or wherever the people or their leaders choose to place them, but only at such places as Jehovah should designate. This is perfectly compatible with the Deuteronomic order for a central sanctuary, made nearly forty years later, when Israel was about to enter the land of promise. The Deuteronomic law itself explains that this regulation would be in place only after Jehovah had given them full possession of the land. Deut. xii, 9-11. Moreover, there is nothing in Deuteronomy inconsistent with the supposition that, after the central sanctuary had been divinely chosen, Jehovah himself might, under exceptional circumstances, authorize sacrifice in other places. The critics urge that the sacrifices at Bochim (Judg. ii, 5) and at Ophrah, (Judg. vi, 26,) the offerings of Manoah (Judg. xiii, 19, 20) and Samuel (1 Sam. vii, 9, 17) and David, (2 Sam. xxiv, 25,) and the prevalence of local sanctuaries of later times, are evidence that the Deuteronomic law was unknown to the holiest men of Israel. But the history shows that these exceptional altars were authorized by special theophanies, or justified by peculiar circumstances. Those occurring under the ministry of Samuel are explained by the fact that the sanctuary at Shiloh

was then desolate, and Jehovah had forsaken the place where he first recorded his name. —Psa. lxxviii, 60, 68; Jer. vii, 12, 14. All other worship at high places was idolatrous, and, in part, a natural result of the demoralized state of the nation, when there were numerous violations of the Mosaic laws, and great ignorance and superstition prevailed among the people.*

2. *The Offerings Required.* Exod. xx, 24, mentions only burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; Deut. xii, 6, 11, speaks of burnt-offerings, heave-offerings, free-will offerings, tithes, and vows; Leviticus provides for all these, and also for the meat-offerings, (ii, 1,) and the sin and trespass offerings. Chaps. iv, v. Peace-offerings are not mentioned in Deuteronomy, except incidentally at chap. xxvii, 7, and the meat-offerings not at all. Leviticus enjoins a great number and variety of ceremonies and purifications, which are held to indicate a later period, when the priesthood had control of the nation and instituted an elaborate ritual. But every careful reader must see that the differences here pointed out are in no sense contradictory. There is nothing connected with any of these offerings that is inconsistent with a Mosaic origin. The hortatory style and purpose of Deuteronomy did not require a minute repetition of all the details of ritual which were elsewhere sufficiently recorded; and will any one contend that, when one book does not specify all the items of another bearing on the same subject, its author must have been ignorant of such omitted items? Is no other explanation possible? Surely, a theory based upon such variations as these will not be likely to command the confidence of a logical mind.

3. *The Number of Sacred Feasts.* The same kind of disparity is urged respecting the Feasts. Exodus (xxiii, 10-17)

* Prof. W. H. Green goes through the whole list of so-called "local sanctuaries," and very clearly shows "that, apart from idolatrous perversions, there was not a single sanctuary for permanent worship among them. Deduct the two or three instances, in the period of the Judges, in which Jehovah or the Angel of Jehovah appeared to men, and sacrifices were offered on the spot; deduct further the sacrifices offered when Israel had no sanctuary, after God had withdrawn from Shiloh and before the temple was built, or in the peculiar circumstances of the Ten Tribes in the life-time of Elijah—deduct these sacrifices which were due to special causes and were strictly limited to the occasion that called them forth, and there is not a particle of evidence that any one of these places was a sanctuary for the worship of Jehovah." "Moses and the Prophets," pp. 167. New York, 1882.

specifies the three feasts of unleavened bread, harvest, and ingatherings, and the observance of the seventh day and the seventh year. Deuteronomy (xv, xvi) mentions all these, except the Sabbath law, (which, however, is mentioned in chap. v, 12-15,) and the feasts of harvest and ingatherings are here called the feast of weeks and the feast of tabernacles. Leviticus mentions all these, together with the feasts of Pentecost, (xxiii, 15-21,) and of trumpets, (xxiii, 24,) and the day of atonement, (xvi,) and the year of jubilee, (xxv, 8-13.) These are simply facts of the record, but how any one can derive from them a valid argument against the Mosaic origin of any or all the accounts is more than we are yet able to comprehend. That one code, or, as we may better say, one section of the great law-book of Israel, should contain a fuller and more minute description of details than another, is certainly no strange thing. The ingenuity of a theory which traces in these various sections different and successive stages of legislation may be admired; its validity as an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is not commendable.

4. *The Priests and the Levites.* It is claimed that the first legislation (Exod. xx-xxiii) knows no special order of priests or an Aaronic priesthood; in Deuteronomy there is yet no distinction between priests and Levites, the constantly recurring expression being "the priests, the Levites," or "the priests, the sons of Levi;" but in Leviticus (viii-x) the sons of Aaron are formally set apart to the special work of the priesthood, and the other Levites appear as subordinate ministers. Here again are simple facts as recorded, but they do not warrant the conclusions which the new school critics presume to draw from them. There was no occasion in Exod. xx-xxiii to refer to the distinction named, for Aaron and his sons had not yet been set apart. According to the history itself their separate consecration followed much other legislation. Then, further, there was no occasion or necessity for Moses, in the circumstances under which Deuteronomy claims to have been issued, to recapitulate the details of priestly office and ritual, or do more than make such general references to the ministers of the sanctuary. The language employed in Deuteronomy assumes Israel's knowledge of numerous laws already established, and if we adopt the view, which the book itself abundantly warrants, that Deuteronomy

is especially "the people's book"—a more simple, practical, and hortatory repetition of the principal facts and laws of the Mosaic legislation—the mention of details of priestly office and ritual would have been manifestly out of place. What avails it to repeat over and over: "Deuteronomy knows no Levites who cannot be priests, and no priests who are not Levites." * Why not candidly face the question: Why should Moses, under the circumstances assumed in Deuteronomy, be expected to do more than allude as he does to the whole tribe of Levi as the chosen ministers of religion? He does not say that any Levite may be a priest. This is a notion foisted in by the critic. Why, moreover, should the school of Graf and Wellhausen try to force the proposition that from the Exodus to the Exile there was no high-priest as distinguished from ordinary priests and Levites? To affirm this in the face of the express mention of "Eleazar, the priest," (Josh. xix, 51; xxi, 2,) and "Eli, the priest," (1 Sam. i, 9; comp. ii, 27, 28,) and "the great priest" in the reign of Joash, (2 Kings xii, 10,) and of Josiah, (2 Kings xxii, 4, 8; xxiii, 4,) and of "the head priest" in the reign of Zedekiah, (2 Kings xxv, 18,) looks very much like a desperate purpose to carry out a theory at all hazards.†

What, now, may we conclude as to the relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch? We find no evidence of the priority of Deuteronomy. We find nothing to warrant the opinion that any one of the first four books, or any considerable portion of any one of them, was composed after the death of the great lawgiver. The different legislation recorded in the several books was probably enacted at different times during the forty years of Moses's ministry, but we have no means of determining the particular date or occasion of each section of the Torah. Whatever the particular dates and sources of the various documents and laws, no sufficient reason has yet been given why the Pentateuch might not have received substantially its present form under the immediate supervision of Moses.

* Smith, "Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 360.

† "What shall we say of a development which in the time from Moses (1320 B. C.) to Josiah (625 B. C.) only gets us far as Levitical priests, and in a single generation can develop the Aaronic priesthood and the high-priest with all his glory?" Curtiss, "The Levitical Priests," p. 163. Edinburgh, 1877.

It would be easy to add to the foregoing discussion the positive argument in favor of the Mosaic authorship, but our space forbids, and our purpose has been to show the inconclusiveness of the negative criticism. We only add in conclusion six reasons for rejecting the theories of the most recent school of the higher criticism.

1. Most of these critics enter upon the study of the Bible under a prejudice hostile to any supposable manifestation of the Supernatural in human history. Many of them confess this at the outset. With such writers all miracles are myths or legends, and he is the ablest critic who devises the most plausible theory of their origin.

2. A dispassionate study of the works of these critics begets a conviction that the detailed arguments, by which they endeavor to support their theories, are not the real steps of the process by which their conclusions were reached. The entire history of critical assaults upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has been notably a succession of adjustments. One theory has given place to another, and the methods by which they have been put forward and urged are largely of the nature of special pleading to maintain a position already definitely taken.

3. The critical methods of Reuss, Kuenen, and their school are not so much based on a candid examination of all the contents of the sacred books of Israel as they are deduced from the application of a speculative philosophy of human history to these books, and an ingenious attempt to make the philosophy account for the history. Reuss tells us in the Preface of his work that his point of view is not that of the biblical history, but of the legal codes, and, beginning with an intuition, he has aimed and hoped "to find the Ariadne thread which would lead out of the labyrinth of current hypotheses of the origin of the Mosaic and other Old Testament books into the light of a psychologically intelligible course of development for the Israelitish people." * This is reversing the true logical method, which should rather formulate a philosophy of history upon an induction of facts, and not first construct the philosophy and then force the history into accord with it.

4. The arbitrary exegetical principles of these critics are not

* "Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des A. T.," p. 8.

of a nature to carry conviction to the minds of candid readers. Such an analysis of books and chapters as assumes with an air of dogmatic confidence to point out a variety of authors in a single paragraph, and to furnish a detailed account of all the sources from which a historian of two thousand years ago derived his knowledge, is too wonderful for us. It borders hard on the supernatural. It seems also at times to have positive acquaintance, not only with all the ancient author knew, but even with all that he did not know! Certainly, more use is often made of what the writer does not say than of what he does say.

5. The notion that Ezekiel's highly wrought vision of the temple and cultus was the outline of a priestly Torah to be observed by the exiles at their restoration to Jerusalem, is beset with insuperable difficulties. The language cannot without violence be interpreted literally. The details were never observed by the returning exiles, and the idea that Ezekiel's prophecy, issued in his own name, became the basis of an elaborate code of laws issued in the name of Moses is really too great a tax upon the credulity of earnest seekers after truth. Add to this the assumption that Ezra and Nehemiah, who wrote so much of their own work in their own name, were parties to this fictitious legislation! Why should critics make no difficulty of conceiving Ezekiel, more than forty years before the restoration, planning an imposing ritual for his nation, and yet imagine it impossible for Moses to do it less than forty years before the conquest of Canaan?

6. Finally, the assumption that an elaborate ritual and ranks of priesthood come in the natural order of development after the more spiritual word of prophecy may be boldly challenged. History shows the reverse to be true. Forms of worship, especially sacrifices and oblations, belong rather to undeveloped and imperfect periods of religious life. The Mosaic tabernacle with its elaborate cultus was admirably adapted to serve as an "object-lesson" to instruct Israel when a child. But a theory which makes the tabernacle a fiction, the priest-code an invention of Ezekiel, and the minute account of boards, and sockets, and bars, and hooks, and pillars, and curtains, and loops, and taches, and pots, and basins, and bowls, and spoons, and shovels, and plates, and paus, the conception of Jewish priests, at the

time of the exile, ought to tell us how such "bondage of the letter" fits in a theory of religious development. Is not the survival of the fittest a fundamental law of such development? But behold! the lofty lessons of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, who, according to these critics, denounced sacrifices as a vain thing, without divine authority, and hateful to Jehovah, are superseded and overgrown by a ceremonial of outward service, concocted by designing priests, and foisted upon the chosen people in the name of Moses!

This species of criticism creates more difficulties than it solves. Its advocates may, perhaps, like Ewald, admire in portions of the Pentateuch the vestiges of an Elohist writer so lofty as to deserve the title of the Great Unknown. We prefer to call him Moses, and identify him with that ancient man of God. Majestic lawgiver of Israel! Faithful Shepherd, who wast ever ready, in that great and terrible wilderness, to lay down thy life for the sheep committed to thy care, we honor thy name and work, whose impress upon all after time is greater than that of any other prophet save thy heavenly Lord! And though hostile critics, some almost as bitter as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram of old, have been working a hundred and twenty years to diminish thy fair fame, and have disputed over thy writings more than Satan ever disputed over thy body, thine eye is yet undimmed, thy vigor unabated. The holy books which bear thy name are themselves thy best apology, and though thou wast but a servant in the house of thy God, thou knewest Jehovah face to face, and hast fittingly been glorified with that transfigured Prophet who, as Son over the house, is truly greater than thou.

ART. II.—THE LAST DAYS OF JOHN WICLIF—
HIS DEATH.

"And when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the path of men."

At this season, five hundred years ago, John Wiclif was coming near his end. He was sixty years old, prematurely worn and weary, yet so bent upon his sacred labors that some reverent hand indorsed upon his last production, "*Auctoris vita finitur et hoc opus ita*"—(The life that dropped so suddenly below the horizon bears rehearsal well.)

Of his earlier history almost nothing is known. He was born at Wiclif, a little parish on the Tees, near Rokeby. Of his ancestry, his parentage, his boyhood, nothing whatever is on record. Of his forty years' residence at Oxford only one incident is found: not a trace of his habits, not a personal allusion of any kind, can be found in all his writings. At forty he suddenly stands forth from Oxford, as Elijah stood forth from Gilead, without preliminary, to do his work, say his word, and then return to the invisible.

At sixteen he entered Queen's College, and, after a year as commoner, he joined Merton. Sometime before, Oxford had numbered 30,000 students, but at this time had not nearly so many. Since its founding by Alfred, five hundred years before, kings, prelates, and nobles had sought repose for their souls and honor for their names by endowing the various colleges of which the University was composed. Its aggregate wealth was great, and the yearly offerings to it were ample. Its income was spent upon lecturers, corresponding, in the main, to the modern professors; upon the fellows, resident graduates, who were its governing body; and upon the scholars. There was no recitation or routine of daily drill. All was done by lectures, by private study, and by public theses and disputations. The University was intensely religious; it seemed partly shrine and partly monastery. Its inmates, whatever their piety might be—and there was often a ragged edge of barbarism in their manners—were moved with zeal to learning as to a crusade.

Their studies were often trivial—this was before Bacon—but their minds were acute and their ardor noble. The student's success in rhetoric was proved by his use of rhetoric; his attainments in philosophy, by his actual presentation of philosophy.

Wiclif early shone among these thousands. He became an authority in the canon and the civil law. A bitter opponent places him "in philosophy second to none, in scholastic exercises incomparable, struggling to excel all in both subtlety and depth of disputation." The truths of Scripture early occupied his mind, and his college friends, in a pleasant way, used to call him the "Gospel Doctor." In 1350 the black death swept over Christendom, and a third of the people perished. It destroyed in London one hundred thousand persons, and the city sat in sackcloth under the appalling scourge. How often in such times have men apprehended the coming of the final terrors! Wiclif was moved to write his first known work of which a single copy remains, "*The Last Age of the Church*," a commentary on the Revelation. In 1361, after twenty-one years of study, he was made Master of Baliol College and rector of Fillingham, on the Lincoln levels. He was also made Doctor of Divinity—a title meaning much in those days. His portrait gives us a slight body, a face too old for its years, with full, waving beard, lips firmly set, and an air of weariness; but under his Oxford cap beams a steady eye, there is a depth in the whole look of the man. We find at Lutterworth, also, his dark, carved oaken chair, more strong than handsome, and a few other relics of the greatest heart of a hearty period.

That was a great generation in England, the most telling between Alfred and Elizabeth, and the most trying to the souls of men. Foremost in politics was John of Gaunt, son of Edward III., uncle of Richard II., and father of Henry IV., himself through his wife (that Blanche of whom Chaucer writes in the "*Boke*") entitled to the crown of Castile—a title that cost him dearly. He was the sturdiest upholder of plain English liberty in Church and State. With him stood Percy, Earl Marshal of England, zealous for freedom as his son Hotspur was for "bright honor;" a man so true and valiant that we doubly mourn when his fortunes went down in blood at Shrewsbury. The growth of liberty caused some excesses. Poverty and suffering from pestilence and Edward's wars were

great, and Wat Tyler's rebellion gave despotism some excuse thereafter. Still, the government of England was the best on which the sun was shining. The peasants were coming, from slaves, to be tenants of cottages and gardens at fixed rentals of money or service—a step in advance of the rest of the world. Thus began that growth of yeomanry that has given England its abiding power.

Among the literary men of this period is a queer identity of name. There has been but one John on the English throne. He was "of presence fouler than hell;" but his signing the Magna Charta gave his name an historic charm for English ears. Around the great Chaucer stood five illustrious Johns, Wiclif, Mandeville, Trevisa, Gower, and Barbour. The great Chaucer, now past the meridian of his years, was still rising toward the meridian of his power. A life-long association with the best society of England and of the Continent, personal acquaintance with the great writers "whose rhetoric so sweet enlumined Italie," and profound study of their works, a lively sense of the beautiful, a deep sympathy with every form of human feeling, and a keen discernment of differences among the mortal millions—these, with growing charms of utterance, were perfecting the author of "*Canterbury Tales*," the father of English poetry. He was four years younger than Wiclif. The commanding figure, the abstracted air, the courtly bearing of the great poet, who had spent his life in the most polished circles of the world, were in marked contrast with the slender form, the worn face, and keen eye of the great scholar, who until now had rarely gone from the cloisters of his college. One bond of bonds they shared—a love for the undivided Christ, whose honor each was in his own way seeking. (How sweet, like the swan's dying strain, are the last known words from Chaucer's pen: "To that life He us bring, who bought us with his blood! Amen!") They shine upon the sky of their century, differing in quality rather than in glory, and either might be called "lord of the ascendant." Together they shed upon their generation healing and gladness and splendor.

A humbler poet of the period was more closely connected with Wiclif's labors. William Langlande was laureate of the suffering and the poor. He sang from the heart and to the heart of English cottagers. He entered into the toil and

dreariness of their struggling lives. His "Vision of Piers Plowman," a series of dreams, forerunning the "Pilgrim's Progress," gave Christ as he is seen through the clouds of humanity, (somewhat as we find the Gospel in Rembrandt's paintings,) and truth comes in allegory of flesh and blood. He brought duty and patience in living forms to the hearths and homes of the poor, and cheered them with vivid pictures of the heavenly sympathy, the eternal pity, thus opening their hearts for the word that Wiclif was to give them. But we might linger overlong amid the vernal charms of English literature in the last days of Wiclif.

For its early Christian centuries England had been under Rome, not always passive, but never rebellious. The voice of Roger Bacon, the sole remonstrant, had been hushed in the dungeon where he died a hundred years before. King John had bound the kingdom to pay the pope a thousand marks (say, \$10,000) a year. For about thirty years this was now unpaid. In 1365 Pope Urban V. sent to Edward III. a demand for its renewal, with payment of arrears. The king laid the matter before Parliament. Now, for the first time, Wiclif appears in public. His hour has come. He leaves his retreat and his loved and sacred task of Bible-translation just begun, and hastens to watch this issue in London. He bows before the king and queen—of England's best. He takes by the hand John of Gaunt, Earl Percy, Chaucer. He was at home among nobles and in the presence of royalty. The pope's claim was boldly handled. "No golden seal of royalty, nor the seals of a few lords whom the king coerced to join him, could supply the place of the national consent." So spoke these speakers. Refused and defied, Urban withdrew his demand. Two hundred years before, the first and ablest Plantagenet, bending his bare head at Becket's tomb, had received three stripes from each of eighty monks and five from each of twenty bishops and abbots; then, leaning barefooted against a pillar, he spent the night in fasting, not so much to avert the anger of Heaven as to appease the offended dignity of Rome. The air had changed in England!

Now arose a difficulty more serious, because internal. The poverty of Christ and his apostles has to some always seemed not merely an incident, but a force in their undertaking and a merit in their condition. Religious orders of, at first, genuine

beggars came into existence. Those founded some two hundred years before this time by Dominic and Francis had by the gifts of the faithful come to be the wealthiest bodies in England. Their establishments were, in architecture and equipment, equal to the noblest cathedrals of the Church. To secure their allegiance the pope exempted them from all control of bishops and all check of parish priests. Able and unscrupulous financiers, and thus a law unto themselves, they domineered the Church and stretched their rule beyond it. They now began a struggle for the control of all primary education and of the chairs in the universities. This roused Wiclif, and he never saw rest again.

From the Parliament that had resisted Urban he obtained an act forbidding their inviting any one to join them under eighteen years old, and ruling them out of the affairs of the university, making the king arbiter in all educational questions. This was a great victory. It marked Wiclif as champion of freedom in faith and learning, but it also marked him for the pitiless wrath of Rome. His clear eyes saw, his deep heart felt, the duty of the hour. "As roll a thousand waves to a rock," so came the friars against Wiclif. "As meets a rock a thousand waves," so Wiclif met the friars. The dispute went, of course, beyond college halls. Wiclif entered the domain of popular controversy, and spent the remainder of his strength in its stormy atmosphere.

In one respect he rose above Luther, Knox, and Calvin, above every Reformer, one thinks, of all time, unless it be that later man of Oxford, John Wesley: it is in his entire freedom from vindictive feeling. There is no insult, no harsh personality, in all his writings. Not one whose opinions or practices he most severely denounced could say that Wiclif was not his best friend. He could, he did, "hate the sin with all the heart, and yet the sinner love." He went to his stern task in the majestic vehemence of an aroused conscience, and never weakened himself by turning from a principle to a person.

One of his attacks was upon Confessions and Pardons, the exciting cause of Luther's movement in following years. Langlande had, in rugged, home-bred English, set forth the shames and wrongs of this system—really that of Indulgences—the dealers in which "rode from manor to manor, with hounds and waiting men." Chaucer gives, with fullness and finish, the

picture of a pardonere, "that streit was comen from the court of Rome."

"His wallet lay before him on his lappe, bret-full of pardons come from Rome all hot." With his "relikes" of saints and sacred things, and his winning "vois,"

"Upon a day he gat him more moneis
Than that the persone gat in monethes tweis;
And thus, with fained flattering and japes,
He made the persone and the people—apes."

Chaucer was herein of one mind with Wiclif. "There cometh no pardon but of God, and this may not be bought or sold by chattering priests." So said Wiclif loudly, and one may imagine what anger he aroused, what gnashing of teeth!

The wealth of the Church in England, as compared with the general wealth of the realm, was at this time simply enormous. The ecclesiastical income was more than ten millions sterling, (equal to ten times that sum to-day,) or twelve times the revenue of the kingdom. (The income of the Church of England, from its endowments, is now by contrast about one twelfth that of the State, twenty millions, as against two hundred and forty millions. Its income from all sources is about fifty-five millions, but in view of its great expense of keeping up its cathedrals, architecture of all kinds, etc., the Church itself is not rich, but poor.)

The Church owned more than half the soil of England, and that, too, free of taxation. The offerings at shrines, the funeral and other charges, were a separate and immense income. The pope gave the richest preferments to Italians, non-resident, and their aggregate revenue was greater than the king's. Gregory IX. drained England of a sum equal to seven hundred and fifty millions of our dollars.

No wonder that patriots were alarmed. Parliament passed the statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire* to stop this ruinous drainage by a foreign prelacy. On Gregory's evasion of the statutes, Wiclif went as head of a commission to remonstrate with him at Bruges. After two years of doubtful struggle the victory was with Parliament. Wiclif, for his wise and fearless conduct of the strife, was made, in 1374, rector of Lutterworth, not far from Oxford. He also continued as lecturer on theology in his own college.

In his pulpit and in his lecture-room he discussed the papacy with boldness and freedom. Loud and dark over his head rose muttering the wrath of Rome. He was summoned before a convocation at St. Paul's, but John of Gaunt stood at his side, Earl Percy was not far away, and his foes did nothing. The pope then made out five bulls against Wiclif. Before that addressed to Edward III. arrived, that king had died. Richard II., his grandson and successor, gave the pope's mandate no attention. He was too young for that; and "the good Parliament," that had resisted the pope's demand, had made the above-named statutes, and had begun to confiscate the church property, would give the bulls small favor.

The pope was not in a strong position. He was living at Avignon under the protection of the king of France, and the English despised a "French pope." Enforce his bulls he could not, yet his revenue from England was greater than that of any prince in Christendom. The flock was shaven and shorn, not fed and shepherdized.

At this low stage of spiritual decay Wiclif, roused by the pope's assault, rose up, "covered with zeal as with a cloak." He put his views of individual responsibility into an ideal theory of "dominion." To each human being was given at birth a "dominion founded in grace," as if the Creator's primal word to unfallen man, "Have thou dominion!" were perpetually spoken. In the outer world the power of the bad might constrain this "dominion," and in the mystery of providence the right might serve the wrong, and "God might obey the devil." In the domain of conscience this "dominion," held directly from God, had unbroken dealing immediately with the Giver, and was answerable to him alone. This in its real drift was Protestantism, sweeping away the mediation of priests between man and God, which had become the apparent basis of the Church, and leaving clear that Rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. We shall see how, as his outward man grew feebler, his mind grew ever clearer and his courage firmer.

The money question now reappears. The pope's agents were about to take from England, sorely drained by war and pestilence, an enormous sum in gold to aid in restoring his Holiness. Parliament, reluctant to see the departure of such moneys, sub-

mitted to Wiclif this question: "Whether the kingdom of England might not, in case of necessity, detain the treasure of the kingdom, though the pope himself demanded the same under pain of censure?" His reply—who could doubt that?—was, "It can so detain." He now declared, and with emphasis, his views of ecclesiastical endowments.

He held that the Church should be supported by the offerings of the faithful, as a river is fed by fresh, living fountains. He urged that priests should live, not from rents of lands or from taxes on trade, but from such incomes as their labors called forth from a people whose hearts freely responded to a faithful spiritual service. The final control of all properties should rest with the State. This view of Church temporalities brings him abreast of our own time. He stood, as first Protestant, about where Protestants stand to-day.

The clergy were touched by Wiclif's views as the silversmiths of Ephesus were touched by the preaching of St. Paul: "he takes my life, who takes the means by which I live."

Wiclif was summoned to Lambeth for trial on many charges of heresy, one of which really absorbed all others, that of holding that the pope himself was amenable to criticism and correction. The presiding archbishop was Courtenay, the same who had, as Bishop of London, presided at the trial at St. Paul's, where John of Gaunt had threatened to take him by the hair of his head. The prelates, who sat as judges, were awed by the vast concourse of Wiclif's friends from all ranks of society, and he was again victorious. This memorable year, 1377, saw his written defense presented to Parliament and scattered broadcast through the kingdom. In this he abides by his theory of "dominion," held directly and inalienably of Heaven, by virtue of which "he could not be excommunicated by the pope unless he were first excommunicated by himself." "He layeth the beams of his chamber upon the waters," and they rest securely, though the waves roar and be troubled. Wiclif had now from a Reformer become a Protestant, when his growing power seemed at once annihilated and his whole work undone. Wat Tyler's insurrection broke out; John of Gaunt and his party were paralyzed. Before the common danger from the maddening peasantry the prelates and the barons came to peace. It is not strange that they charged the outbreak on Wiclif, for

some of his followers were in it. He boldly claimed that he was ministering oil and wine to wounds that he had no share in making. It is, however, here that we must mark the end of his political power. The odium of the Peasant's Revolt, which he, least of all, deserved, took from him the alliance and sympathy of the aristocratic party.

The last tie between him and John of Gaunt, now aged and irritable, was broken when Wiclif denied transubstantiation. This standing miracle in the ritual of the mass filled the worshipers with awe, and set the humblest priest, in whose sacred hands it was achieved, above all earthly dignities. In 1381 Wiclif uttered his denial of this most central and impressive of all the Romish doctrines. In this he stood alone. The University of Oxford at once condemned. He promptly challenged to a disproof of his views any doctor or chancellor. None ventured, the panic subsided, his opponents vanished, and the university silently acquiesced in the conclusions of its great master. It was more serious that John of Gaunt enjoined him to be silent. With a pen of truer stuff than the great duke's sword, Wiclif wrote to his patron an avowal of his doctrine, calmly adding, "I believe that in the end the truth will conquer."

He now began a movement never before known in English history. The barons and the university, the supporters of his earlier efforts, he could count upon no longer. He turned squarely to the people of England. Flinging aside his Latin and his scholastic argumentation that had won the applause of learned throngs, he set himself to address the common mind in the common tongue. His genius overmastered the enterprise. He created at once a language and a rhetoric, appealing to the people in words that needed no expounding, and in sentences clear, energetic, and inspiring. His prose—he is called the father of English prose—is to-day terse, ringing, and intelligible to all plain English listeners, whether among the miners of Yorkshire, the tradesmen of London, or the cowboys of Colorado. Pamphlet after pamphlet he wrote and circulated full of daring denials, backed by brief, clear arguments, of most that Rome held dear—of pardons, indulgences, absolutions, the worship of saints, and pilgrimages to shrines. How these went abroad in the land we shall see presently. They went

everywhere, and they worked so effectually that it came to be said that every second man was a Wiclifite.

Postponing discussion of his Bible-work until we have traced his career as reformer, we hope still to avoid confusion of ideas.

In 1382 Courtenay, Wiclif's bitterest opposer, presented to a council twenty-four propositions taken from his works for official condemnation. During the discussion an earthquake shook London, but the fierce primate explained it to the frightened council as an omen of what they should do to heresy, and ten propositions were condemned. Courtenay enjoined the chancellor to silence the preaching of these things at Oxford. "I dare not," was the answer. Such was the influence of the "Gospel Doctor" in the home of his life, the center of his labors. The king and council had made an order enforcing the decree of Courtenay. Wiclif procured the recall of this order. Victory gave him no rest. The relentless archbishop, triumphant as he was, through John of Gaunt's favor, (how changed within five years!) over free thought and speech at Oxford, dared not proceed against Wiclif. An alliance was framed between the prelates and those Franciscans and Dominicans whom Wiclif, as reformer, had so grievously offended. We saw them hostile to each other. "Pilate and Herod are made friends to-day," said he, bitterly; "they made a heretic of Christ: it is easy for them to count simple Christians heretics." They summoned him in 1383 before the Convocation of Oxford, as being a member of the university, to be tried for his denial of the Real Presence. He was sick, but he roused himself for his answer with amazing energy. He not only sent to the king and Parliament a petition for a full hearing, but he attacked his enemies with new vigor. He restated all his points of doctrine, and demanded the free teaching of his views of the Eucharist, and this in the shadow of the cloud portentous of his ruin.

At length he came before his Convocation. In this, his last answer, no man stood by him. He was in a dreary case, feeble, friendless, and alone, amid scowling enemies. Such change had come in his old home! He made his defense, and never had he shone so brightly as master of learning and logic. His enemies could not resist the wisdom and power with which he

spake. Set to condemn him, they expressed no judgment, but they summarily expelled him from the university. This was his last trial, his last triumph, his last indignity. He rose up and turned his weary feet from that seat of learning where for forty years he, the last of the great schoolmen, had been the chief luminary, and which, since its founding, none had so adorned with a great and venerable name, or had so fulfilled the founder's prayer. He found a safe retreat at Lutterworth.

Let us now review the task which absorbed his energies, which gave him his greatest influence and his enduring fame. Ardent as Wiclif was for the welfare of England and the Church, he well knew that conviction, zeal, and love, which give doctrine all its life, must be nourished by the divine Mind, the eternal Heart. Reformers come and go, but the word of God abides forever.

In 1360 he set himself to the translation of the Bible into English. For this work he had come to a moral fitness by profound and patient study, by which he was convinced that the Bible alone gives a full and faultless rule of faith and practice. "God's will," he said, "is plainly revealed in the two Testaments, which a Christian man, well understanding, may thence gather sufficient knowledge during his pilgrimage here on earth."

He decided that England's greatest need was the Bible for the people, without note or comment, to be illuminated and enforced upon their apprehension by the eternal Spirit. To furnish this became the sole and sacred task of his life, to which most of his other doings were but incidental. Years had told heavily upon his slender frame, and palsy was touching his arm; but there was clearness in his thought and unflinching courage in his spirit.

His was the first version in a modern tongue of Europe, as the Russian, of 1877, is the last. Between Alfred, who translated the Commandments, and Wiclif, five or six had done something of this work, but in 1360 the Psalms alone were known in English. He made his version from the Latin, the Vulgate of Jerome, not from "The Greek and Hebrew of the Holy Ghost." Two men were effectual helpers. Nicolas Herford worked with him on the Old Testament until, under imprisonment and threat of worse for heresy, he forsook Wiclif.

The other, John Purvey, comforted his master's declining years, and after his death completed, in 1395, a revision of his work.

In his retreat, at Lutterworth, Wiclif toiled at this great task—toiled patiently and hopefully. If once that Book were in the people's hands, his foes might do as they liked with *him*; the light thus kindled they would never be able to extinguish! About some items of his work there hangs an obscurity. Whether he began with the Psalms or the Revelation; whether he finished the entire Bible, or the New Testament only, in 1380; whether, even, he began his work in 1360 or 1378, are questions debatable but unimportant. Clearly, this was the absorbing task of his later years, at which he toiled by his late evening lamp in winter, and in the early sunlight of summer, now at his college, and now at his rectory, that he might unveil to common eyes the sacred truth. He would add nothing of note or comment. His theory of "dominion with grace" involved the right of private judgment. If the Bible might but lie on the cotter's table, he would leave to the Holy Ghost, not to trammels of human comment, the guiding of the cotter's opinions.

December 2, 1380, is fairly taken as the era of Wiclif's Bible, an era for England and for mankind. Though this was a lifetime before the art of printing the Book, yet penmanship was now in its golden age in England, and the copying of manuscripts was not only a fine art, but also the bread-winning vocation of thousands. The Book hastened on its errand. Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, read it early and to good purpose. She brought many of her countrymen to Oxford for biblical study. Thus were carried to Bohemia those ideas for which, in the next century, Huss and Jerome laid down their lives. Many of the nobility patronized the work after the queen's example, and of the middle classes numbers aided in the cost and labor of the ample copying.

Now came into happy service a class of laborers whom Wiclif had already raised up and organized, the forerunners of Wesley's itinerants, or even of Booth's soldiers. They were "the simple priests." The clergy laughed at their rude sermons and long russet frocks, but the common people heard them gladly. These at once began to read the Bible to crowds that bent forward entranced as those who, after a long night,

catch the flush of rising dawn. And now in English homes was a music before unknown!

It is a crisis in the history of a language, one of intense linguistic interest, when it is made the vehicle of the divine Word, as the Chinese has in our day illustrated. It is always attendant upon a crisis in the religious history of a people. How forcible, then, are right words—phrases that readily blend with the popular thought and tinge the common consciousness! Wiclif's English was equal to the demand, and the Holy Ghost was not straitened therein. All that holy men of old had spoken came to his countrymen in its original fullness and power. To him we owe our sacred dialect; a style of our language which all recognize and reverence, and from which none of our versions has departed. How "tuneful sweet" is this! (Matt. vii, 27:) "And rayn came down, floodis camen, and wyndis blowen, and thei hurliden into that house, and it felle down, and the falling down thereof was grate."

When Wiclif was driven from Oxford the glory of the university departed. Soon it had but a fifth of the students that had crowded to hear the "Gospel Doctor." In our day the venerable institution has reared the monument of the illustrious scholar whom it was compelled to repudiate. Under its patronage two faithful men, Forshal and Madden, after more than twenty years of labor, have given in four ample folios the version of Wiclif, and that revision which he began and Purvey finished, through the university press. In the Chicago Library these noble volumes, given by Oxford to the city after the fire, with pages like prairies and print undimmed by the industrial atmosphere, offer endless charm to the student of sacred thought and of the English tongue.

Now louder rose the cry of heresy. Wiclif stood up and hurled the word back on those who shouted it: "Those are heretics who hold that the law of God may be learned only from the lips of priests, and that men should not have it in the language best known to them." During his life Rome made no effectual hinderance. Copies of the Bible were scattered far and wide. A few years before this, Queen Philippa had taught her people to cheer their homes by using coal as fuel. By introducing coal as she had done, she had inaugurated England's career as a nation great by its great industries. A similar work

did Wiclif in English hearts. The results on private piety and public conscience went to prepare England for her place as the foremost Christian nation.

Rome looked on the Bible in English with those eyes always and every-where the same. She hated it with a perfect hatred. In 1390 a bill condemning it and forbidding its circulation, was introduced into the House of Lords. Gaunt was there, and rousing himself in the noble spirit of his nobler days, he procured the rejection of the bill. It could hardly have passed the Commons, and Richard was in favor of the Bible. Foiled in Parliament, the priests kept their wrath warm by the passage of the Arundel Constitution, a decree purely ecclesiastical. Its purport was, that no unauthorized person should translate into English any part of the Holy Scripture, or read in public or private any such translation, under pain of the greater excommunication; that is, the committing of the body to the flames, and of the soul to the devil. This terrible decree awaited its time like a sword sharp and bright in its scabbard.

Its time came. Richard's great error placed himself in a dungeon to die, and his cousin on the throne to reign. This was John of Gaunt's son, Henry IV. of Lancaster. All was now changed. Henry was like his father in the energy and intellect that marked the whole Plantagenet line, but with piety and freedom he had no sympathy. To gain the support of the priests he let them have their own way. They quickly drew that blade, and red it was ere they returned it! To possess any portion of Wiclif's Bible was made a capital crime. Houses were searched, and men and women were put to death for having or reading a scrap of Scripture. It was a reign of terror indeed!

We were noticing Wiclif's "simple priests." To these had joined themselves a large class of humble helpers, readers of the Bible from house to house, as are now so many good women in the zenanas of India and the homes of Japan. They took with them also tracts of his writing in the plain, strong speech of plowmen and mechanics, the first hearty specimens of our pamphlet prose. On these poor servants of Christ, known as Lollards or Babblers, fell the stroke of wrath. They drank of their Master's cup, and were baptized with his baptism. As Herod had done with James, the brother of John, because he

saw it pleased the Jews, so did Henry with these faithful men because he saw it pleased the priests.

The smoke of their burning gave the air of England a taint unknown for a thousand years, since the Druids had vanished from the groves that they had made awful with human sacrifice. Such deeds were shocking in the son of Gaunt! These poor men were his best subjects. He was not a Nero to enjoy this havoc. He wished the favor of Rome, and this was its price! Wiclif's work was not wiped out. Hundreds of his manuscripts survived; some sewed into bedding; some built into walls; some buried in the earth. They fed, even in troublous times, that secret conscience, that silent grasp of truth and freedom, that prepared five millions to be turned to Protestantism in a day, and Henry VIII. so turned them because they wished to be turned. So with action and counteraction has England fared on toward becoming what Wiclif wished it to be and tried to make it.

Let us resume his personal history. After his expulsion from Oxford he came up no more out of his dearly loved parish of Lutterworth. Few and feeble were his days now remaining. His central work was the revising of his translation—of which he might have said in Angelo's words concerning his masterpiece at Florence, "Like thee I will not build; better than thee I cannot"—for how is the revision an improvement upon the translation? But this weapon, on which to the last he was forging, was in other hands to work the discomfiture of his foes and Truth's. He was assiduous in the care of his flock, and so vigorous was his mind that three hundred of his parish sermons, clear, fervent, and practical, escaping his enemies, have come down to our day. So did the flame burn brightly until the mortal socket was at last reached and consumed.

The English prelates now appealed to the pope, and obtained a brief ordering Wiclif to appear at Rome. We may know what that meant! Toward Rome heretics walked with unreturning feet. He made answer to the effect that his failing health compelled him to forego such pleasure. The last words from his pen may be quoted from this answer, in which the courage that never quailed assumes the tone of irony. "I am always glad," said he, "to explain my faith to any one, and above all to the Bishop of Rome; for I take it for granted that if it be ortho-

dox, he will confirm it; if it be erroneous, he will correct it. I assume, too, that as chief vicar of Christ upon earth the Bishop of Rome is of all mortal men most bound to the law of Christ's Gospel, for among the disciples of Christ a majority is not reckoned by simply counting heads in the fashion of this world, but according to the imitation of Christ on either side. Now Christ, during his life upon earth, was of all men the poorest, casting from him all worldly authority. I deduce from these premises, as a simple counsel of my own, that the pope should surrender all temporal authority to the civil power, and advise his clergy to do the same."

The words of Wiclif, the first Protestant, are ended, nor could they have ended more fittingly!

He died at his post. He was conducting divine service on the last Sunday of 1384 with his loved and loving people of Lutterworth. Paralysis came down to him with noiseless, air-drawn touch, as of an angel's beckoning finger. He was borne from his church like a warrior from a field of battle. He was at rest. His last days had been twenty years of stormy strife, in which every day had seen a battle, and every battle a victory, and now came three days of heavenly peace. His soul overflowed with gladness, a kindly light was on his face, and he seemed to breathe the air of paradise. In the closing hours of the year he entered upon the eternal years amid the solemn troops and sweet societies of the true and the brave on high. Devout men carried Wiclif to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.

The church of St. Mary, that in which he preached and in which he was buried, still overlooks the pleasant town of Lutterworth. It is of the pointed architecture that prevailed in the century before Wiclif, and though its boast is of but one great and illustrious name, we look on it with a concentrated sensibility unfelt in Westminster Abbey. There hangs his portrait on the vestry wall; in that pulpit he was preaching when "Heaven's usher of the white rod" touched him to escort him elsewhere; on that table he wrote; in that chair he died; he even wore that tattered robe, a very shred of which one might beg for memory! And the quiet waters of that stream were once strewn with his ashes! The lapse of time that deals heavily on this old building, leaves that still beautiful which

once was so, and the associations here are fresh and unwithering. The thoughtful tourist will rather leave some places of more pretense unvisited.

Years passed on, and up to the end of the century the dawn of Reformation grew warmer and brighter. Other times then came, as we have already indicated. In 1400 Chaucer died. John of Gaunt was already gone. Only one of Wiclif's great protectors, Percy, father of Hotspur, was remaining. Henry IV., following Richard II., gave all his influence to Rome, and the followers of Wiclif fell on evil times and evil tongues. They found no comforter, none to hinder the swift wrath of their foes from its dire sweep of vengeance. Their master's writings were publicly burned, and every curse found in the Romish formulas of anathema was heaped upon his name. But how could they degrade him to whom the Master had said, "Well done!" How disquiet him who had entered into the joy of his Lord!

One weak display of hatred, like that which disgraces the foes of Oliver Cromwell, was within their reach. The bones of the heretic, buried in the chancel of the church where he had preached, were defiling a consecrated ground. His enemies had long chafed in vexation over his peaceful death and burial. "Strange, indeed," says Fuller, "that a hare hunted with so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting on his form!"

In 1428, when in the ruin of the Lollards all spiritual life seemed trodden out in England—when the profligacy of the "Club Parliament" and the avarice and cruelty of the army in France blackened the English name—when in all Christendom the one pure, heroic figure was Joan of Arc—in this midnight of Church and State the last foul deed was done. Wiclif's remains were unearthed and burned upon the bridge spanning the little river Swift, that runs past Lutterworth, and the ashes thrown into the stream to defile English soil no longer. Rejected from consecrated ground, he gained a boundless sepulcher. "The whole earth," says Pericles, in his funeral oration, "is the tomb of illustrious men." Fuller says, "This brook did convey his ashes to the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wiclif were the emblems of his doctrine, which is

now dispersed the wide world over." So, indeed, it is dispersed! On what shore has the Bible in English not been read! What laws and institutions of our race has it not affected! In what country has it not caused some one to say, "My spiryt hath gladid in God my helthe!" (From the Magnificat, Luke i, 46.) It has influenced every generation that has "hastened stormfully across the stage out of the darkness east into the darkness west."

In 1455, seventy years after Wiclif's death, the first book was printed. It was the Mazarin Bible in Latin, of which six copies are said to be now existing; one being in the Lenox Library of New York, another at Hartford. About twenty years later Caxton printed a Bible in England. Thus within a century came two great biblical epochs of transition—from Latin into English, and from penmanship into print. Think of the slow toil of Wiclif's penman, and then note that since 1804 Bible societies alone (to say nothing of other publishers) have printed and distributed more than one hundred and eighty million Bibles, Testaments, and portions of Scripture! But we must take our leave of the great Schoolman, Translator, Reformer, and Protestant. It is fitting to pause at the five hundredth anniversary of his death, the last day of this year. "Wist ye not that this daye is a prince, nay, a greate manne fallen doune in Israel?" The lips of those that can speak well should rehearse his virtues and his toils, and all who love and have freedom by the truth should glorify God in him.

Wiclif! Now half a thousand years are sped
Since to the music of our English tongue
Those thin white fingers cunningly did wed
What holy men of old had said or sung!

First Protestant! First scholar for the poor!
First to tell out in homeborn, fireside speech,
To simple folk within their cottage-door,
What words of life those sacred lips did teach.

As comes the star upon the dim, sad sky
To tell of dawn upon its rosy way,
So from our Orient, serene and high,
Thy beams presage our bright and golden day.

Hard was thy task, strong Heart! Still struggling on
Against the scowl of bitter monk and priest,
Palsied and sick; and yet thy work was done,
And follows thee, now entered into rest.

Bend from thy rest, if it be given, O Saint,
 Now worn and baffled in thy toil no more!
 Hark! How thy language, tuneful, clear, and quaint,
 Tells the glad tidings upon every shore!

What though thy foes in feebleness of wrath
 Thine ashes on the wandering waters flung?
 The reverent waters smoothed for thee a path
 O'er smiling tides all lands and isles among.

And when thy work's millennium shall be,
 Can that millennium yet linger long,
 When o'er all nations Truth has victory,
 And Peace lifts up her sweet and endless song?

ART. III.—THE LOGIC OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

THE logic of religious belief has always been a puzzle even to religious thinkers, and a downright scandal to the irreligious. As we look along the line of human thinking we see a number of perennial beliefs which seem to exist apart from logic, and often in defiance of it. The existence of God, the efficacy of prayer, a moral government of the universe, and life beyond the grave, are examples. Men have always made a show of argument for these beliefs, but often, it would seem, mainly for form's sake. The arguments offered have varied from age to age, and often from man to man. Moreover, even religious thinkers have rejected all of them at one time or another as illogical and worthless. In every case, soon or later, there comes a point where strict logical consecution fails, and where the passage from premise to conclusion is made by an appeal to faith, or feeling, or some other illogical element. And yet, to the dismay of the logicians, the beliefs live on in perennial freshness and power. In such cases it would seem that we do not hold our beliefs because we can prove them, but we try occasionally to prove them because we hold them; and finally, we insist on holding them whether we can prove them or not.

This state of affairs has given rise to manifold speculations. Many religious thinkers have seen in these facts a proof that religious truth does not come within the jurisdiction of logic, and they have moved to change the venue by an appeal to feeling,

or to some special faith-faculty or religious sentiment. Intuitions, too, have been largely appealed to and highly esteemed. The eagle soul, it was said, has wings, and should soar to the mountain-top instead of painfully dragging itself upward by the sole force of beak and claws. The more gifted declared that they had no need of aid from either logic or revelation, as they possessed the witness in themselves. They were quite content to resign religious arguments to be hacked and hewed by irreligious logicians, and, indeed, they did not a little of this work themselves. Some of the severest critics of the attempt to reason out religious truth have been believers. From this high stand-point of faith, or sentiment, or intuition, many even ventured to make an onslaught on the speculative faculty itself. The metaphysicians have not succeeded well enough in their attempts to construct a logical theory of things to make an alliance with them especially desirable. We need only mention the names of Plato, Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Mill, Bain, and Spencer, to see that the speculative faculty has not much room for the pride of success. The human race has done some fantastic things in the ways of religion, but certainly nothing more fantastic than it has done in the way of speculation. From the beginning, speculators have been a race "mad with logic and fed on chimeras," so that the very term has become a reproach. There have always been men possessed of the speculative mania who have flown in the face of consciousness and good sense, and who have denied all the principles by which men and nations live, simply to carry through a theory. Mephistopheles was certainly right when he declared that "a speculating fellow is like a beast on blasted heath led round in circles by an evil spirit." Science itself did not begin until it left off logic-chopping, and took to studying facts. As long as men tried to tell what could be and what could not be, instead of inquiring what is, words and empty formalism were the only result. Within the Church, also, periods of rationalizing have always been periods of dearth and death; so much so, that rationalism has become almost synonymous with irreligion. Many have succeeded in arguing themselves out of religion, but seldom into it. Facts of this kind have strengthened the conviction that religion must have other than a speculative basis. It would be

too bad if one could not be moral until some one had constructed a theory of morals, and had solved all the metaphysical puzzles which lie at the foundation of a moral theory. It would be too bad if we could not worship except as permitted by some ephemeral system of metaphysics. It is not to be thought of, then, that religion should be forced to carry any speculative system, whether it be the Leibnitzian monads, the Herbartian reals, the Hegelian idealism, or even the doctrine of evolution.

To one sore from the buffetings, and grieved by the gainsayings, of logic, such freedom could not fail to be welcome. It seems to be a distinct teaching of experience; and it also sets religion on high, far above logic and its wordy wars. But it has likewise its disadvantages. It looks like an admission that religion has nothing for the reason or the intellect. It is rather a kind of "dark lantern of the spirit" which is not to be used in the realm and light of intelligence. The latter must always remain an unbeliever, and look coldly on while heart and conscience worship. Moreover, the feelings and intuitions, left to themselves, have made very sorry work of it. Feelings have grown faint and intuitions dim. It has been very hard to adjust them to one another, and harder still to adjust their psychology. Hence in the realm of religion itself there has long been an oscillation between rationalism and sentimentalism, and a chronic inability to rest in either.

To irreligious thinkers, on the other hand, the illogical nature of religious reasoning has always been a scandal. They have armed themselves with a logic variously described as rigorous, remorseless, relentless, pitiless, etc., and with this they have produced numberless formulas of exorcism against religion. These extend from single syllogisms and epigrams to bulky volumes, and have been incessantly repeated over the possessed for centuries, but without effect. Occasionally a fresh speculator, generally young and inexperienced, re-utters a familiar exorcism with unwonted warmth, and looks confidently to see the evil spirit depart; but, somehow, if the demon does vanish for a time, he soon comes back in a worse form than before. For example, Comte drove out Christianity and ended by setting up a mixed system of ancestor and progeny worship. Strauss and Clifford, also, after getting clear of God, propose to us to worship the Cosmos, thus getting back to nature-

worship. Suggestions of similar atavism in religion are not wanting in much current speculation. So the rare and choice minds which for a time were empty, swept, and garnished, and which, indeed, were most efficient in pronouncing the exorcising formulas, become themselves possessed by the evil spirit, and that, too, in a somewhat degraded form. This disappointing outcome of their well-meant endeavors has soured, somewhat, our irreligious thinkers. They conclude that religion does belong to our nature, but to the irrational side of it. It may be based on feeling or instinct, or on some blind impulse; at any rate, it is not based on reason. As rational, we are not religious; and as religious, we are not rational. They regret, of course, to see the irrational win such a victory over the rational, especially as such vast practical interests are involved; but this must be reckoned to the innate stupidity of the universe, which is but a poor affair after all. Here the ways divide. Some regard the religious sentiment as a temporary product of development, but as something which cannot safely be disregarded while it lasts. So they look over their speculative treasures to find a sop with which to quiet it, not without a sigh, however, at finding humanity so set in costly delusions. What progress might not the race make if the money and energy expended in bootless worship were devoted to the scientific training and amelioration of mankind. Others, again, are less patient and more determined. Religion, they declare, is nothing but a projection of human desire and passion upon the external universe, and is believed simply because men want to believe it. As for the argument in its favor, it is so weak that it would be immoral to accept it. They are quite at a loss to know whether the persistency of religious teachers in maintaining their superstitions is due to imbecility or to immorality. These teachers, they say, instead of proving their doctrines, preach them. Most of them, of course, are utterly ignorant of the controversies which rage about the foundations of their doctrines. One would think that before preaching religion it would be well to find out whether there is such a thing as religion. But the preachers go on praying and preaching when the whole world knows that the bottom fell out of religion long ago. Evidently they think it compatible with honesty to teach what they do not know. Still we must not be too hard on men who

have to make their living. Some get a living in one way, and some in another. Utterances of this sort are familiar to every reader. In one shape or another they form the staple of the "trenchant arraignments" of religion in which polemic literature abounds.

The solution of this outstanding puzzle must be sought in a better knowledge of the psychology of belief; for the puzzle itself arises from a false theory of belief. We shall see that the charge of bad logic lies equally against our entire mental procedure. We shall see also that our deepest beliefs are not deduced, but grow; they are not made by logic, but developed from life. In fact, in these fierce demands for logic there is an almost infantile oversight of the conditions of human existence and of the facts of mental development. They rest upon the implicit assumption that man is an abstract speculator without any sort of practical interests or necessities. Hence he must begin, like Descartes, by rejecting all postulates and assumptions of every kind in order to find some invincible fact or principle; and when this is found, he must admit nothing which cannot be deduced from it. Wherever he comes to the end of his logic he must stop. If this ideal were adopted we should have only knowledge in the mental outcome, and belief would be unknown. Again, if we were purely abstract speculators, this ideal might be made the standard of our mental operations. But as it is, this ideal applies only to mathematics. Here we begin with self-evident intuitions, and deduce our conclusions from them with perfectly cogent logic. Mathematics is the field of knowledge, and knows nothing of belief. It will not even hear of probability, except as a subject of discussion, and the truths reached about probabilities are themselves not probable but demonstrated. But this idea is inapplicable to reality, and the method is speculatively barren. By means of it Descartes came to his "I think, therefore I am," and there he stuck fast. He could reach neither the world of things, nor the world of persons, nor the world of laws. The method was very rigorous, but it left thought without any object. It is well known that no theory of perception whatever can demonstrate that the apparent object exists apart from perception. That something not ourselves exists is certain, but that that something is identical with sense-objects is not only unproved

but unprovable. The difficulty in laying the idealistic specter is proof of this. Our world-vision is primarily an effect in us, but that the cause must be like the effect cannot be demonstrated. Again, in daily life we live on a basis of probability. Most of the axioms by which men and societies live admit of no demonstration. Practical life, from the humblest concerns of the poor up to the guidance of states, is a kind of knack; and no one makes so sorry work in this field as the fanatical logician. In this field, too, thought has the sole function of guiding life. It does not exist for itself, but only for its outcome. Hence the great aim is not to be technically logical, or speculatively correct, but to be practically successful. This is the great realm of common sense, where practical sagacity is worth more than theory, and where the ability to bring things to pass outweighs any amount of impracticable logic. Some great thinkers, notably Kant, have claimed that thought never has any other than this practical, or teleological, function. The history of speculation shows that thought can only lose itself in pathless labyrinths when it aims at speculative knowledge. It should therefore be restricted to the practical ends which are set for us either by our physical life or by our moral and religious nature; and the attempt formally to prove or disprove fundamental beliefs should be looked upon as a mark of arrested, or at least incomplete, development. We need not subscribe to this extreme view, however, to see that the speculative ideal is inapplicable to practical life, and that belief is molded by practical aims and necessities rather than by the processes of logic.

The true nature of belief can never be understood apart from this fact. The human mind is practical rather than speculative. It lives and acts and has experiences long before it speculates and theorizes. In its practical unfolding, it adjusts itself in a measure to the universe, but in a still greater measure it adjusts the universe to itself. In so doing it makes a great variety of practical postulates and assumptions which are not logical deductions, but a kind of *modus vivendi* which the mind has established with the great world of things. The mind does not ask whether it has a right to live, but it lives; and in living it develops a frame-work of principles which represent the conditions of its fullest life. It has not time to speculate;

it assumes. It has not time to theorize; it takes for granted. The pressure of practical existence is upon it; and it must adjust itself practically before it can attend to speculative problems. Thus man did not begin by inquiring into the implications of ethical existence and by settling all the metaphysical difficulties involved therein, but he began by being ethical, and by implicitly assuming all which that implies. He did not prove that he had a right to be ethical, but he found himself such. He did not resolve the metaphysical puzzles in the notion of freedom, but he found himself compelled to regard himself and his fellows as responsible, and hence as free. Likewise, man did not begin by demonstrating the possibility and obligation of religion, and by proving that the objects and relations which it implies exist, but he began by being religious, and by assuming those objects and relations. They were implied in being religious, and he was as sure of them as he was of his religion. No more did man begin by theories of knowledge and by routing all skeptics and agnostics; but he began by knowing as a matter of course. No one can hope to understand the mind who regards it as a logic-machine. It is rather a living organism with manifold interests and necessities, and without thought of logic it proceeds to assimilate the universe to them. The result is, an outgrowth of beliefs, which are the outcome, not of logic, but of life. They are not reasoned truths, but represent the tendencies of our nature, or a mental concordat with existence.

These considerations, however, only refer to the origin of belief, and do not establish its truth. We may allow that belief has a highly complex genesis which admits of no very clear presentation; but we must not affirm that therefore belief has no accountability to logic. That men do believe does not prove that they have a right to believe. Hence, after the genesis of a belief has been described its truth remains an open question. It is therefore the province of logic to go through the luxuriant growths of credulity and cut down such as cannot prove their right to exist. This brings us to the distinction between the causes and the grounds of belief, and raises the question, What constitutes the grounds of belief?

This question also can best be answered by observing the actual procedure of the mind. Beliefs fall into two classes

which are psychologically very different. Beliefs of the first class are those which are deduced from facts, either as their explanation or as their consequence. They are not knowledge because they do not compel acceptance; but they may be rational, because the probabilities are in their favor. Scientific theories are examples, and so are the manifold assumptions and expectations which make up what we call common sense. A physicist believes in the ether or a chemist believes in the atoms because the phenomena seem to call for the assumption. A man says, "I think it will rain to-morrow," or, "I think there will be a financial crisis or a European war before long." All of these beliefs have a double peculiarity. First, they are founded on objective facts, and are offered either as explaining the facts or as resulting from them. Second, their strength varies directly with the objective evidence. If new facts are found which do not fit easily into the scientific theory, doubt begins. If the clouds grow thinner, or the barometer rises, we are not so firm in our expectation of rain. If we hear that the crops are turning out better than we expected, we begin to think of postponing the crisis. All such beliefs belong to the realm of probability; that is, our belief rises and falls with the amount of objective evidence. We take all the facts into account, and our belief is the resultant average. Beliefs of the second class are not founded on objective facts, but on subjective tendencies, and express only subjective interests or postulates. They are not inferences from given facts, either as their explanation or as their consequence. They are rather the implication of our nature itself, or its reaction against our total experience. They are also psychologically different from the preceding class of beliefs in that they are not matters of probability, and our conviction does not rise or fall with each new fact experienced, but only with the intensity of the emotion which produced it. In the realm of probability, opposing facts weaken belief; but here they are set aside as something not understood, and do not weaken our faith.

The belief in God illustrates both classes of belief, as it is really a compound of both. Theistic faith has a double root in our mental life. First, God appears as an hypothesis to explain the facts of experience, or to satisfy the demand of the reason for a sufficient cause. As thus conceived, theism belongs

to the realm of probabilities, and our faith should vary directly as the evidence. Second, God appears as the implication of our esthetic, moral, and religious nature, or as satisfying certain subjective interests, tendencies, and emotions. From this standpoint our faith in God is less an inference than an assumption; or rather, it is an act of faith which varies with no estimate of probabilities, but only with the strength of the feelings which produced it. When these feelings are very strong, the faith is called an intuition, and the proposal to prove the divine existence is derided as needless, and, perhaps, resented as sacrilege. Every step toward argument is a step away from that living apprehension of God in which alone he can be truly known. Sometimes this exalted state of feeling is erected into a special organ, or faculty, which is the true medium of spiritual vision and divine revelation. But apart from these extravagances, theistic faith cannot be understood without taking account of its double source. Plato and Aristotle furnish instructive examples of the double function of theistic doctrine. Aristotle seeks only the God of reason. Plato seeks also the God of beauty and of conscience. With the former, God is metaphysically conceived and has only a metaphysical function: with the latter, God is conceived as the living and righteous God, as delighting in beauty, as maintaining a moral government over an empire of souls, and as administering righteous retribution in a future life. Unfortunately, most writers on natural theology have theoretically recognized only the argumentative source of theism. They propose to demonstrate the existence of God, or at least to render it rationally probable, by an objective consideration of facts. Their apparent success is largely due to a verbal identification of the being reached by their argument with the living God of Christianity. When power and skill in a somewhat indefinite degree have been made probable, this has been viewed as a proof of the Divine Existence in a religious sense. The esthetic demand for perfection, and the moral and religious nature, come in so naturally and spontaneously to expand this poor result into a divine ideal, that the flaw in the logic is overlooked.

That this is so, especially appears from the treatment of the problem of evil and of the divine goodness. A purely objective study of the facts, without any admixture of subjective

interests, would certainly stop short of the conception of God as at once self-centered omnipotence and perfect holiness and goodness. Such a study would aim only to find a causal explanation of the facts; and it cannot be shown that only a perfectly good and all-powerful being would be a sufficient cause. The argument for the divine holiness and goodness is based partly on the happiness of sensitive beings, but mostly on the moral nature of man. These facts, it is said, demand a moral and benevolent cause. Unfortunately, the argument rests on selected facts and ignores the rest. But over against the facts of happiness are the facts of misery, and these are neither few nor insignificant. They cannot be shown to be due to any eternal truths of reason, nor to any ontological necessity. So far as we can see, they are contingent upon an order which might have been otherwise to advantage. Likewise, over against the facts of man's moral nature, are those features of the cosmic process which make against all our ideas of righteousness. If not positively opposed to morality, the world-order is at least awfully indifferent to our moral ideals. To such an extent is this true, that the common judgment of the race has been that a future life is absolutely necessary to save the divine justice and goodness. Manifestly the divine goodness cannot be concluded from these facts, and yet they belong to the facts which must be taken into account in a purely causal explanation. If such an explanation only were needed, an Epicurean indifference to finite well-being, or an element of moral caprice in the First Cause, would be an adequate hypothesis. They are not rejected because they are metaphysically inadequate, but because they are esthetically, ethically, and religiously obnoxious. We demand an explanation which shall satisfy the conscience as well as the intellect. Accordingly, we interpret the First Cause morally; and the facts which make against this view are set aside as something not understood. We believe in a solution whose possibility we cannot now comprehend. Hence the chief strength of the arguments for the divine goodness is directed to showing that the facts of evil and suffering are not incompatible therewith. If we have the idea, we may hold it fast even in the face of the world's pain and sorrow and sin; but the positive source of the idea is not to be found in any ætiological study of the facts of existence,

but rather in the unwillingness to be put to any such utter moral and volitional confusion as would result from allowing a fundamentally immoral, or capricious, or malignant God. Hence the claim often made by Christian writers, that speculative arguments for the existence of God are religiously worthless, is not without some justification. The same fact appears also in the development of Christian theology. The necessity of finding a conception of God which should be satisfactory to our moral nature, has been the great spring of theological progress. Our conceptions have been greatly modified thereby, and the result has been the abandonment of many views which were logical enough, but which did violence to conscience. The older Calvinism was not obnoxious to the reason, but to the moral sense. The debate which led to its modification was carried on with weapons drawn, not from logic, but from conscience. The only function of logic was to show that the theory was shut up to objectionable ethical results. These results, however, were rejected on their own account; for men took for granted that conscience is entitled to a voice in deciding what may be believed. These facts in the natural history of belief, show that belief is by no means always born of a logical contemplation of facts, with the aim of discovering either their causes or their consequences; but that it is often an expression of the entire soul, in which each tendency of our nature aims to assert for itself its proper field and object. The law which the logician lays down is this: Nothing may be believed which is not proved, or at least made probable, by objective facts. The law which the mind actually follows is this: Whatever the mind demands for the satisfaction of its subjective interests and tendencies may be assumed as real, in default of positive disproof.

But these considerations also refer only to the origin of belief. They show that there are two sources of belief: first, the objective study of facts; and second, the subjective interests and tendencies of the soul itself; but they do not decide their relative logical worth, which is the point in dispute. On this point, too, there is a very considerable agreement among thinkers. Beliefs of the second class must be rejected as wishes turned into assertions, or as hopes which have mistaken themselves for truths. Sentiment of no sort may be allowed to

influence us in deciding what to believe. There is still a difference, however, among those who hold this view, as to what the facts are upon which objective belief shall be based. Some hold that the moral and religious nature is a fact which points to God as its only adequate explanation. That the conscience seeks after God as its implication and support proves nothing. That religion necessarily implies an object, and falls into contradiction without it, also proves nothing. But the existence of the conscience and of religion demands an explanation; and this must finally be found in God. Others, however, will not allow such a suggestion until all the resources of the associational psychology have been exhausted; and as these are supposed to be inexhaustible, we may well believe that both conscience and religion have a much less august origin. Accordingly, they are unwilling to recognize any thing as a ground of belief except the data of the external senses. These give us the world of fact, of experiment, observation, and verification. Whatever can certainly be deduced from such facts is knowledge; whatever they make probable is rational belief. All that lies outside of these lines is fable, fiction, and falsehood.

The value of this dictum, unfortunately, depends upon the value of sensationalism in philosophy. It is then no first principle, but one arrived at through a long course of doubtful reasoning. Proved it certainly is not, and very many hold that it is not even made probable. But overlooking this scruple, it is a widely-accepted principle that the subjective value of a belief is no mark of truth whatever. Thus the Christian world-view is superior to all others in adaptation to our practical and ideal needs. The intellect, the conscience, the heart, and the will are all recognized, and a supreme object is set before them. Neither the individual nor society could ask for more than the fulfillment of the Christian ideal. But while this fact shows a subjective adaptation, it is no proof of an objective correspondence. Neither the pleasant, nor the agreeable, nor the useful, but truth only, is the object of study and the end of research. From this high inquiry all appeal to feeling and utility must be rigorously excluded, if we would preserve our mental integrity, and not debauch ourselves with sentiment. "We covet truth" should be our only motto; and in stern loyalty to that we must follow truth at whatever cost of comfort and

disenchantment. But while the critic cannot fail to be impressed with the rugged grandeur of this ideal, he must regret that it leaves us a little in doubt as to what this truth is which is to be followed at any cost, and also that it places us between the horns of a troublesome dilemma. A theist can hardly admit with safety that our minds have such a parallax with reality that their deepest tendencies and necessities have nothing corresponding to them in the world of fact. An immoral and godless universe is a conception which could not lie long on the human mind in general without producing pernicious results, either in the form of insubordination and violence, or in the form of listlessness, paralysis, and a gradual abandonment of moral ideals. What avails it to fight the universe? On the other hand, the opposite conceptions are full of blessing both for the individual and for society. If, now, this is no ground for believing them, we are under the disagreeable necessity of admitting that a true belief may be paralyzing and pernicious, while a false belief may be necessary to our best development. When this admission is joined with the oft-heard assurance that truth can do no harm, the annoyance becomes extreme. The atheist is scarcely less embarrassed by these facts, for his conception of truth is almost exclusively teleological. Truth is the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. The true conception is that which gives us control of the fact; in brief, the true theory is the successful theory. It follows that the true theory of life is that which leads to the largest, fullest, and highest life. The universe has evolved an almost exclusively moral and religious conception of itself, and has elevated and purified this conception from age to age. Natural selection, whose special function it is to kill off unfit beliefs, has assiduously fostered the ethical and religious world-view. But while we are confidently expecting to hear this view proclaimed in the name of evolution as the highest truth of the universe, we are suddenly, and somewhat tartly, told that the utility of a doctrine is no ground for believing it; the logic is not the best, to be sure, but it is probably the best possible under the circumstances. Its teleological character is especially prominent, and so is its final cause.

We do not succeed very well in getting clear of subjective interests so long as we deal with religious belief; but perhaps

we may escape into the realm of pure objectivity by falling back on science. There we make no reference to God or utility, but simply inquire, What is true? This is a noble aim, and is quite intelligible so long as we deal only with detailed problems, and take the common sense theory of knowledge for granted; otherwise it is somewhat obscure. Probably the first answer would be, that the true is the real. Facts are true, and truth means fact without any addition of theory. A philosophical purist might complain of this language as inexact; but as the meaning is plain we let it pass, and ask, What is a fact? especially, What is a fact unmixed with theory? Common sense points at once to the world of things as facts, free from all subjective additions and distortions; but the sensationalist, the agnostic, the relativist, and the idealist open fire forthwith, and blow this claim to pieces. The only undistorted fact in this connection is our sensations. The transformation of these into a world of things is an enormous addition to the fact, and the logical right with which it is done is far from evident. That it is done instinctively only shows that it is natural to the mind to do it; it by no means justifies the performance. Besides, instincts belong to those subjective elements from which it is the special glory of logic to save us. Again, we might appeal to the unity of belief on this point, and to the agreement of experience; but the unity of belief only reveals the constitution of the mind, and the agreement of experience only points to consistency of action in the external ground of our sensations. Such a ground there must be, but no one can show that only a certain series of material things would be an adequate ground; indeed, the more we think of it the harder it is to accept such an explanation. If, now, we are bent on having only unconditional fact or unadulterated truth, it must consist in a description of our subjective states and the laws of their combination and succession. But this truth is too pure for use or circulation, and a certain amount of alloy must be added to make it serviceable. If we allow the current theory to stand we shall have to say, Those things are real or true which the mind, because of its sensational experience, instinctively affirms to exist, which is manifestly a *petitio principii*. But if the instinctive affirmations of the mind are accepted in default of proof in the field of sense-perception, there seems

to be no good reason why similar affirmations should be rejected in the field of morals and religion.

In fact, those who demand the rejection of all subjective interests as grounds of belief have rarely any adequate idea of the extent to which they enter into our mental life. They are supposed to underlie only our moral and religious beliefs, whereas they are equally prominent in our cognitive and speculative activity. We have just seen that our objects must be taken for granted. Nor are we content to take them as they are given; we forthwith proceed to work them over in the interests of cognition. We make, as a matter of course, such modifications and assumptions as are necessary to enable us to comprehend the facts as if facts were under obligation to be comprehensible. Reality, as it exists for common sense, is the totality of things existing and events occurring at any given moment. This is fact; this is truth. But it is so far from being august or sacred that it is hard to find any but a practical value for it. That the North Pole is buried in ice and snow, that oxygen and hydrogen unite to form water, that the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico—such truths of fact are insufferably stupid except as bearing upon action. It is quite impossible to comprehend that enthusiasm for truth and its sacredness which results in setting up such truths for worship. And the mind itself is not satisfied with any such reality. We find it totally unmanageable, and we proceed to transform it, and especially to interpret it. This transformation and interpretation constitute what we call science. In this way we seek to escape from the intolerable opacity and confusion of the real to the transparency and intelligibility of the ideal. And to do this we assume that this vast totality of things and events falls into fixed classes, subject to fixed laws and bound up into a rational system. Then "interpretation" begins, and presently our ideal construction passes for the real, while the actual data of experience are dismissed as phenomena or appearances; indeed, they will be very lucky if they are not stigmatized as downright delusions. But wherefore this distortion of experience, and with what logical right does it take place? The universal reign of law is a subjective postulate. The right to interpret is a pure assumption. We make very free with facts when we distort them out of all likeness to themselves in order

to gratify our desire to understand. Of course, the scientist tells us that the universality of the law is an axiom; but logic takes upon itself to examine axioms, and generally with the result of removing their axiomatic character altogether. The truth is, that all this is done in the interests of the cognitive faculty. It is not the outcome of a logical compulsion, but rather of an esthetic craving. We could not deal with the facts without the assumption of law, but what right have we to deal with them? We could not understand the facts without assuming an intelligible order, but what right have we to understand them? We could not interpret the facts without transforming the data of experience into something utterly unlike themselves, but what right have we to interpret them, especially by distortion? Why not take things as we find them, and be content? Here common sense will ask, in a half-dazed way, if it is not the nature of the mind to seek to comprehend? Of course it is; but that does not prove that it is the nature of the universe to be comprehensible. No one doubts what the nature of the mind is; the doubt concerns the nature of things. Since there is so great a parallax between the religious nature and the nature of things, why may there not be an equally great parallax between the cognitive nature and the nature of things? The desire to find the universe intelligible is as purely subjective as the desire to find it moral. The desire to comprehend is as subjective as the desire to worship. The comprehensible universe is as pure an assumption as the religious universe. Moreover, the actual universe, that is, the universe as it is given, is not comprehensible; it is that other, assumed, ideal universe which is really intelligible, and our understanding of the actual is through the ideal. It gives one, therefore, a pleasant start of surprise to find science set apart by itself as the only objective product of the mind, while every thing else is stigmatized as subjective and fictitious. It shows such infantile trust, and also such infantile development. For from a logical stand-point science is simply an idol of the tribe, a projection into the world of reality of the subjective interests and postulates of the cognitive faculty. The atoms and ethers and molecules of science are products of the same anthropomorphic tendency which has produced gods and ghosts. Just as the moral and religious universe is said to be a projection of the

moral and religious nature, so the scientific universe is a projection of the cognitive nature.

But here it may occur to us, that there is a great difference in the cases, in that the scientific universe is reached by reasoning, while the others are not. The claim, however, is hardly tenable. If by the universe is meant the cosmos, in the sense of a completed system or a rational totality of things, the claim is absurd. In this sense the universe is only our idea of unity applied to plurality, giving us the conception of a finished and rounded whole. It is primarily a subjective ideal, and no reasoning can demonstrate its objective existence. But if by universe is meant those things and forces behind phenomena, these are indeed reached by reasoning, but by reasoning based on assumptions. The laws of thought do not take us as far as we want to go. In objective reasoning the law of the sufficient reason is the positive principle of thinking. The law of identity and contradiction is merely regulative and negative. But that law, taken in its generality, permits no specific conclusions. Thus it tells us that our sensations must have some cause, but it does not tell us what that cause is. Again, it assures us that phenomena must have some ground, but in itself it gives no hint as to the nature of that ground. Indeed, the law does not even assure us that the sufficient reason is knowable; for the agnostic as well as the dogmatist affirms a sufficient reason. They differ only as to its knowability. To get any progress out of the law we must understand the sufficient reason to mean the satisfying reason. The sufficient reason in any given case is that state of things which, being assumed, would enable the mind to comprehend the facts; that is to say, the sufficient reason is one which satisfies the mental desire to interpret and comprehend. In testing theories, also, the same fact appears. At first adequacy to the facts seems to be the final test; but if we ask what we mean by adequacy to the facts, it turns out again that the mind is the real judge of adequacy, as it is the sole source of the demand for adequate explanation. The facts themselves do not need to be satisfied, for they are not dissatisfied. No more do they demand explanation; they are quite indifferent to being explained or not. In themselves they are simply facts and events upon which the mind seizes until it has satisfied its passion for explaining. That which is

necessary to its understanding of the facts the mind assumes to be necessary to the facts themselves. To be sure, next to the weather, scientific interpretations are about the most variable thing we have; but even supposing concord and finality reached, it is far enough from self-evident that the reason which satisfies us must be the real ground of the facts themselves. This law of the satisfying reason does not rest upon any logical necessity, but rather on our cognitive instincts and an unwillingness to be put to hopeless intellectual confusion. Indeed, in all concrete thinking the need of mental satisfaction is at once the source of movement and the test of truth. In all mental activity, beyond the lowest regard to physical needs, the aim of the mind is to make a place for itself or to satisfy itself, and when such satisfaction is reached, the mind assumes that it has reached the truth.

The notion of a universe essentially incogitable is rejected because it violates our cognitive instincts, and leaves thought without an object. The notion of an immoral universe is rejected because it makes our moral nature an absurdity. The notion of a godless universe is rejected because in that case all our interests, mental, moral, and religious, must soon or later sink down into ruin. And the opposite conceptions are maintained, not because of an idle wish, but because of our inability to escape utter mental, moral, and esthetic confusion without them. Primarily, these conceptions represent the conditions of our complete mental well-being, or the demands which our mental build prompts us to make upon the universe. As to their objective validity they are all on the same logical plane. Science, ethics, and religion are alike the outcome of our mental constitution. In all of these departments the mind appears with its subjective interests and postulates, and demands that reality shall recognize them; and in all alike reality recognizes them only imperfectly. Knowledge is a vanishing point in the indefinite unknown. The power, not ourselves, also makes for righteousness, but it is only a tendency, and has, apparently, many exceptions. Likewise, the God in whom we believe reveals himself to some extent in experience, but for the most part clouds and darkness are round about him. The assured conviction we have rests not upon a logical deduction from experience, but upon the optimistic assumption that the mind has

a right to itself, and is at home in the universe. It throws itself upon the universe, therefore, in the firm faith that what its nature prompts it to seek will, in one form or another, be given. This is, to be sure, an act of pure faith; but it is a faith upon which all mental, as well as all moral and religious, life depends. And in the lack of positive disproof, or of irreducible contradiction among its assumptions, the mind insists that they shall stand, not, indeed, as logical deductions, but as fundamental postulates of mental procedure.

The conclusion from all these facts must be, that the driving and directive force of the mind lies in its living interests, and not in the discursive faculty. The principles of mental movement are to be sought, not in logic, but in life. We find to our surprise that there is no department of belief into which subjective interests do not enter as controlling. Even those beliefs mentioned as belonging to the realm of probabilities rest finally on assumptions based on subjective interests. If, now, we are to allow these interests no voice in determining our beliefs and assumptions, we shall have to make a clean sweep of every thing beyond a description of our mental states in their co-existences and sequences. And to this the agnostic advises us. This, he says, has been his view all along. Our science, as well as our theology, is only a subjective dream, and has nothing in it. It is the last, and in some respects the fairest, of those anthropomorphic dreams of which the human mind has ever been so prolific. For immature minds, or for a certain stage of social development, it has doubtless been valuable, and even necessary; but the critical intellect in its stern devotion to truth fails not to see that science also must go. Of course it costs us many an exquisite pang—the deepest, indeed, of which our nature is capable—to give up the sweet scientific vision of an intelligible universe; but loyalty to truth is dearer still. This claim may be dismissed with a word. The human mind is not made for agnosticism. There have always been sporadic cases; generally, however, in connection with religion; but the general judgment has assigned them to the department of mental and moral pathology. Meanwhile, science has gone on developing its system of thought in serene indifference to the agnostic. And it will always be so. It is no longer a question whether we are to have a science or a religion, but only what

kind of science and religion we are to have. There is no more danger of the race permanently contenting itself with agnosticism, in either science or religion, than there is of its ceasing to perform the instinctive functions of practical life. Of all skeptical squalls, the practiced critic says what Athanasius said of the pagan renaissance of his time, "It is a little cloud, and will pass over." Individuals will be injured during their prevalence, but in the history of the race they are too transitory for much notice. The faith in the universe which underlies our mental life was not called into existence by logic, and will not vanish because of the discovery that it has no foundation beyond itself. Theory after theory will vanish, but Sisypheus, in a hopeful spirit, will continue to upheave his stone.

But once more, and finally, the question recurs as to the logical value of these subjective interests. Do they prove any thing? The answer must be, that primarily they are not reasons for believing, but tendencies to believe. As such they are psychological facts rather than logical reasons, and as such they prove nothing. They become reasons only as we assume some theory of their origin. If we may assume a harmony between our nature and the nature of things, or if we assume a process of evolution such that our nature must develop into harmony with reality, or if we assume that God will take care of our faculties and their essential veracity, then these subjective interests become reasons for believing. It is plain, however, that these assumptions themselves depend on the fact to be established, the trustworthiness of our nature; and cannot, therefore, be both premise and conclusion. Our nature must finally be taken on trust. Its practical demands are not necessities of thought, but rather true *axiomata*, that is, things worthy to be believed. Their contradictories are not unthinkable, but only esthetically or ethically absurd. In the last analysis these *axiomata* have an ethical root. They rest upon the idea, not of what must be, but of what ought to be. They are accepted because of their practical value, or their unconditional worth. This basal faith rests upon nothing deeper than itself, and hence it cannot be argued. Both acceptance and rejection are finally acts of choice rather than reasoning. The dispute finally reduces to this: The believer assumes our nature to be true until it is proved to be false; the unbeliever regards it as possibly false until it is

proved to be true. So far as logic is concerned there is little to choose between them; but the former principle has the advantage that it justifies our mental procedure; while the latter brings the mind to a stand-still and to utter paralysis. Still, this is somewhat compensated by the fact that the doubt generally exhausts itself in the religious realm, and leaves the cognitive interests full play. This ingenious distribution of faith and unfaith is both interesting and instructive.

What, then, is the function of logic with regard to these practical postulates? Plainly not to prove them, but to bring them and their implications out into clear consciousness. These postulates themselves are not primarily known as such, but exist rather as confused tendencies than as clearly defined principles. Thus the scientific consciousness is a comparatively recent development, and its implications are very imperfectly understood. What is implied in the assumed possibility of objectively valid knowledge is a question rarely asked, and still more rarely answered. Hence many have fancied that materialism, or atheism, or fatalism, might furnish a basis for science, whereas any one of them would engulf science in skepticism. The ethical consciousness, in like manner, is rarely in full possession of itself; and consequently many ethical theories acquire currency which, developed into their consequences, would prove fatal to all ethics. The religious consciousness, also, is developed into self-possession only by a long mental labor and experience extending over centuries. Left to itself it may fail utterly of comprehending its own implications, and even lose itself in irreligious assumptions. In all of these fields, therefore, there is need of a critical faculty which shall have the regulative function of securing consistency in the development of our postulates, and of adjusting their inter-relations. In this process of inner development and adjustment, logic is equally the servant of cognition, of ethics, and of religion, while all alike are outgrowths and expressions of our subjective needs and tendencies as evoked by our total experience. It is in this sense of having many implications which can be unfolded in systematic statement that the ethical and religious consciousness may be spoken of as an independent source of truth.

But this raises the question whether the assumed validity of the cognitive impulse and postulates might not lead to a con-

tradition of the religious impulse and postulates. In that case we should have a civil war of the faculties, and no logical standard of decision. The general assumption is, that in such a case the cognitive impulse must have the right of way; but this is only a prejudice of the speculative faculty. In the light of its history it might be claimed with much show of reason that the speculative faculty has only the practical function of serving the ethical and religious life, which alone has unconditional worth. But we need not resort to such heroic measures. Truth is one; and if the cognitive faculty were shut up to irreligious conclusions we should have to accept them. But this will never happen. For, first, such opposition must not be assumed until a final interpretation has been reached; and such an interpretation is rarely possible. Most of our theories are liable to be overturned at any time by the discovery of new facts which will not fit into the old formulas. This has happened times without number already, and may well happen again. In the next place, an analysis of the conditions of knowledge would show that they coincide with the conditions of ethics and religion; and on the other hand, a study of the conditions of religion would show that the religious ideal must include the cognitive and the ethical ideal. The three have a common root and parallel implications. They develop, therefore, in mutual support and complex interaction. Dry and irreligious interpretations are shattered by the floods of life and aspiration poured over them by the moral and religious nature. Simple and compendious mechanical explanations are set aside by perverse and obdurate facts outside of the mechanism. On the other hand, the religious nature has always needed to be instructed by both the intellect and the conscience. The fact that the religious ideal must always include the cognitive and the ethical ideal, constitutes the barrier against superstition and immorality in religion, and also against a weak god-naturedness in our thought of God.

This general nature of fundamental belief, as being an expression of the fundamental interests and tendencies of the soul, throws light on many peculiar problems in the psychology of belief. First of all, we can understand the barrenness of merely logical criticism. This rests on a misapprehension of the actual procedure of the mind, and the mind retaliates by

ignoring it. The apparent independence of logic of many of our beliefs becomes equally intelligible, as they are not born of reasoning, but of life. Again, we can understand the peculiar variations of belief to which all are subject. In a pessimistic state of mind, when the springs of life are low, the scientist despairs and becomes an agnostic. In a similar state of mind, the moralist cries out, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The Christian, after a period of full assurance, falls into doubt even of the existence of God. All the arguments in each case remain what they were before; the trouble is with the inner spring of faith. Nor can faith be recovered by arguing; this will often rather deepen the unbelief. Cure can best be sought by leaving nature to reassert itself, or by seeking to strengthen the sentiment from which belief originally sprang. We can also see how belief can be a ground for praise, and unbelief for condemnation. Viewing them as logical deductions from formal premises, nothing could be more absurd than this; but in fact our beliefs represent, not our conclusions, but us. They reveal the drift of our sympathies and the tendencies of our nature. They reveal also the quality of our souls and the grade of our development. To confess satisfaction with a mechanical, or immoral, or godless universe is only an act of self-revelation. The greatness of our demands measures the greatness of our nature. Only smallest souls can live without high faith and lofty hopes. We can further understand how the claim could arise that religion is based on feeling or on some special faculty. The moral and religious intensity which gives life to religious conviction is mistaken for a peculiar faculty. Last of all, we can see that any refinement, or purification, or elevation of human nature must lead to a corresponding change in our religious conceptions. Conversely, an era of low living will surely issue in a corresponding weakness of faith, and will spread its blight over the entire nature. The character of the mental soil determines the kind of crop.

This paper is written from a purely psychological stand-point. It does not affirm that the mind is able to develop a system of belief out of itself alone, independently of experience; it aims rather to call attention to the principles by which the mind works over its experience. The outcome is, that belief is a far

more complex thing than many are accustomed to think, and that any attempt to decide upon its validity by formal syllogistic processes is superficial and vain. It further follows, that the test of fundamental beliefs can never be any simple rule, but will rather be as complex as our nature itself. In determining what the mind demands, it is not enough to study individual psychology; for the individual is always a one-sided and incomplete specimen of the race. To eliminate these shortcomings the psychology of the race must be studied as revealed in institutions, in history, and in literature. On this broad field of the world beliefs meet and contend for the possession of the mind, not only nor mainly by argument, but by their manifold esthetic, ethical, and religious implications. More and more history itself becomes the argument, and the survival of the fittest the judge. What the mind demands in order to satisfy its own nature will be assumed so long as it is not disproved. But this principle is practical, not speculative. It does not assure us of the truth of the belief. Its falsehood involves no contradiction, but only an intolerable mental and moral confusion. And since it does not claim to be proved, it cannot be argued. It rests finally upon our faith that the universe has a meaning in it, and that the mind, with its aspirations and ideals, is at home. Allowing this faith, there is room for our highest devotion and most strenuous effort everywhere; denying it, the result is a deep and rayless pessimism in which intellect, will, conscience, and affection all lose their object, and are thrown back upon themselves to wither and perish.

ART. IV.—A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF HAMLET.

A STUDENT of Shakespeare finds in Hamlet that his honored master and himself have unexpectedly come into novel relations. Still are they teacher and learner, but in a way different from heretofore. Shakespeare did not live to be an old man. But to his pupil, accustomed to a reverential posture at his feet, and habituated to watch, year by year, the fuller luster of the eye and to mark the deepening cadence of the voice, every sign by which time reveals the maturing mind is very distinctly

given in the drama of Hamlet. And wherein lies the change, and in what form does it express itself? Not in the mere conduct of the external movement, although that is strictly processional as to the progress of the idea and its final vindication. Nor is it in the slow ordering of the scenes so as to detain attention and complete each single stroke of impression. Nor, again, does this higher art of the dramatist disclose itself in the simultaneous interaction of thought and feeling, by which a two-fold intensity is maintained in the reason and imagination. These are all Shakespearean, but not the special qualities of the advanced Shakespeare so luminously displayed in Hamlet. The characteristic of this drama is the number, variety, and compass of the tragic forces which embody their extreme activity, and by fated strength shape all circumstances in entire obedience to themselves. By the organic law governing every event accidents are excluded. Here, indeed, as nowhere else in Shakespeare, the omnipotence of providential rule is side by side with omnipresence; and if, according to his creed of art no less than of religion, a sparrow falls not to the ground without divine notice, he has employed his capacity to its utmost compass in the unfolding and enforcement of this unheeded truth as basic to all individualism and society. So far, therefore, as the scope and propensity of this sentiment are concerned, the dramatist in Hamlet reaches his most exalted attitude, and the student, if open to the inspiration of his master, is lifted into the highest realm of consciousness.

Accordingly, one finds the peculiarity of this drama taking its rise and pursuing its development in the very nature of Hamlet as a man. Much interest gathers about him as a young and injured prince. First and last, however, the royal personage is secondary. Though outwardly kept in close connection with his surroundings of palace and court, he is in reality detached by the breadth of infinite distance from their associations as to any determinative influence. The air of Elsinore and its castle is breathed, but another atmosphere arterializes his blood. Most of the time, Hamlet himself seems forgetful of the throne of Denmark and its honors as attractive to his ambition. Questions of his manhood absorb his mind, and his mode of dealing with them and the issues flowing therefrom are the fascination that holds us captive. The man alone—the

man in the secret turmoil of his soul, the man perplexed, bewildered, and overmastered in ceaseless struggles with his own unmanageable self—is the transcendent power that sways our feelings. This is heightened by the fact that Hamlet is essentially dramatic in his organization. Resting on a temperament of singular impressibility, his intellect, as to its inceptive stages of thought, is uncommonly acute to sensational influence. Nor, indeed, can he in subsequent moments of attenuated speculation rid himself of this original sensitiveness. The excited blood runs on into the furthest digression of reflectiveness. Not content with the images of the imagination as the ultimate outlet of sensation, the heated life-current swells in the “discourse of reason.” A nervous shock meets no resistance; the vibrations, quick and strong, traverse the whole extent of his being, and there is not one non-conductor to arrest the electric circuit. Had he had the temptations of a moderate sensualist, this extreme inward force of sensation would have been drained off into other channels. But Hamlet had no leaning toward sensualism. Even the innocent forms of physical gratification were seemingly alien to his pure and noble nature. There is a strange absence in him of instinctive delight in the outward shows and pomps of material objects. Nor does he change in response to the variations of earth and sky, but he changes them into faithful reflexes of his own moods. Could he have enjoyed the free and exuberant naturalness of early existence? One is led to think of him as never having had a genuine childhood and youth, since the senses, instead of performing their double office of ingress and egress, are slavishly monopolized in the service of abstracted thinking. This disposition is not occasional, but habitual. It has all the force and constancy of an automatic energy. Looking at Hamlet in this primary aspect of his constitution, he is nothing less than a born dramatist, and, at the same time, a born actor, with a possible theater ready fitted up and lacking only a special equipment to suit the order of the performance. From the outset of life his nerves are theatrical, and it is only a matter of circumstances what form the play shall take. Dramatic the experience must be in the outworking of nature into character, for in such a man instinct can never translate itself into the language of active life except under conditions necessarily dramatizing.

Analyze this matter further and you discover that Hamlet had something else besides the weakness often found in conjunction with the literary temperament. Cicero and Erasmus, though very unlike men as to culture and position, are examples of the seductive influence of this temperament. The former, too good to be a politician in his evil day, and not strong and brave enough to be a statesman, gave to literature what should have been given to his country. Like the soft gray sky of Italy, that lends a deeper repose to its beautiful landscapes, it was his choice to be a spectacle for quiet admiration rather than to resemble the majestic forces typified in the mountain and the flood. Erasmus would have a reformation without the radical thoroughness of social regeneration. Not by thunder and lightning, but by mild disinfectants, the poisonous air of the world was to be purified. The literary temperament loves its ease, and, while it can forego many luxuries, the enjoyment of self-scrutiny is its supreme longing. If Milton were an exception to this common infirmity, it was because the sense of duty was the heroic element in his manhood. Now, in most cases, this temperament which I have called "literary" is not introversive; on the contrary, it is out-going. It loves an audience. It covets sympathy. Next to oratory, it has a yearning for recognition and hearty appreciation. The divine instinct of a fine thinker is, that it "is more blessed to give than to receive;" and in obedience thereto, a truly unselfish intellect delights to communicate for the sake of others. But in Hamlet this sort of temperament is not dominating. When he says that he is one "who can be bounded in a nutshell and count himself a kind of infinite space," he gives us more than an insight into his lack of ambition and his utter distaste for practical affairs. It is not so much the "king" as related to "infinite space," as the "king" mirrored in his enormous self-consciousness and the subject-object of his contemplation that captivates the overwrought sensibility. And hence his intellect, though so fertile in creation and luxuriant in expression, never concerns itself as to any fruit it might bear in others. As to being "a gem of purest ray serene" in the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean," or a "flower born to blush unseen," what poetic rhetoric could be more unmeaning to him! The "ray serene" is for his own eye, the "fragrance" for his

private breathing, and all the rest is "waste." This unvarying occupancy with self is not of the lower self. What he shall eat and drink, in what way kill time, how dispose of his large opportunities to find relief from oppressive care and solicitude, never engage his attention. Inward, still deeper inward, to-morrow more than to-day this searching for a remoter inwardness, year by year the steady expansion of a world contained in the soul and encircled by a horizon ever thinning away and hastening into ampler spaces: Hamlet is this fascinated explorer of life's occultness, seeking himself where the real Hamlet cannot be found, and only the shadow of his ideality, less tangible than the ghost of his father, can mock him with its evanescent communion. Account for these phenomena under any ordinary law of literary temperament, *plus* an abstract philosophic power of almost limitless activity? By no means; the temperament is an important question, perhaps more so than any other next to his genius; but the main thing is for the student to observe how this natural temperament was developed, by what steps it mastered the will and usurped the entire control of the mind, the direction it took in its abnormal energy, and the fatality it entailed first upon Hamlet and afterward on his career.

Seen in this light, Hamlet is a profound study in mental physiology. It is not the only aspect under which he may be considered, but it is one of peculiar interest just now, where so much scientific intellect is engaged in the investigation of the relations subsisting between mind and matter. It seems, in fact, that Shakespeare in his Hamlet anticipated much of our recent science, a fact the more remarkable since physiology was scarcely known in his day. Shakespeare does not teach physiology, but he involves it unawares to himself. Intent alone on his art, he unconsciously makes that art inclusive of a vast deal beyond itself, so that indeed the smallest of his services to humanity lies within the immediate precinct of dramatic poetry. The new Shakespeare of our day is rising into a genius, a character, an influence, and, we may add, an inspiration, far more commanding and ennobling than dramatic skill even in him could have secured. The study of Hamlet alone, in which the poet transcends the familiar limits of poetry, and allows himself the freedom of the universe, has produced its most signal effect in

our day altogether outside of its merit as a poetic achievement. Every one knows its value as poetry. But this is mere scaffolding; the magnificent fabric stands apart, and, as a structure of mind, taking its place among the architectural wonders of all ages, its grandeur is unchallenged. Hamlet in its embodiment of the organic principles of constructive art; Hamlet with its unity creating diversity, and, in turn, this rich diverseness falling back upon the unity for its enhancement; Hamlet with its tenacity of logic, wherein premises and conclusion, though extending in many lateral branches of sequence, yet hold firmly together; Hamlet as imparting to modern criticism the healthiest and freest impulse it has received; most of all, Hamlet as a study in intellectual philosophy, and in that branch of it involving psychology: may be regarded as significant of a new epoch of culture. That this study offers special advantages to the mental physiologist, is certainly very clear. At the start Hamlet's infirmity of will is well-defined. The growth of this morbid state, running through a succession of stages, is accurately presented. Nothing is omitted that can cast light on the progress of his intellectual besetment. Step by step the history discloses itself beneath the dramatized movements; the soul in its sorrow and strife is laid bare; and the unusual number, fullness, and impassioned fervor of the soliloquies make the self-revelation complete. More than anywhere else in Shakespeare, the life of the spirit and the life of the open world proceed on parallel lines, and we pass from the one to the other without a noticeable pause of transition. There is absolutely nothing to draw off attention from the principal character, every matter from the smallest to the greatest being as a multiplying mirror, in which the image is reproduced. And while there is not an occurrence which lacks dramatic interest, yet not an event happens that does not enter into the heart of the action and direct itself to the predestined end: the utter overthrow of all parties, innocent and guilty, Horatio excepted.

Called home from the University of Wittenberg by the death of his father, the king, Hamlet finds his uncle Claudius on the throne. His feelings are further shocked by his mother's marriage to Claudius so soon after his father's death. Here, then, are two classes of sensibilities—deep grief and vehement

indignation—and they are as opposite, nay, as antagonistic, as it is possible for emotions to be. One is reminded of Milton's figure of the "two black clouds" that come "rattling on over the Caspian, fraught with heaven's artillery," and then "join their dark encounter in mid-air." The grief is deep and tender, the indignation violent and irrepressible; and, the crown lost, what sphere of action has the young prince, what duties can engage him, that may serve as safety-valves for the escape of feelings not only excessive but conflicting? Within himself the overburdened heart is pent up, and the twofold anguish is increased by the suspicion of foul play. And what resort has he? The one least adapted to afford him relief, the one most likely to intensify the raging conflict; and, accordingly, he utters his soul in a soliloquy that rehearses "the uses of this world" as "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable," closing with the words:

"It is not, nor it cannot come to, good;
But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue."

Judging by Hamlet's temperament, either of these causes, grief or anger, acting under the circumstances then existing, would have made a lasting impression on his nervous system. Thirty years old, he was at the precise age where reason and passion are active in adjusting themselves to each other. It is the momentous turning-point in this part of our history, and consequently involves the relations subsisting between the nerves and the mind. We know that these relations are mysterious; and yet we also know that somewhere about that age the nerves take on their habits as activities co-ordinated with thought and impulse, while the mediating power of the imagination, the *nexus* between sense and spirit, is then as to its sensuous functions most energetic. The physical man having reached his growth, another and higher growth has now set in, the most important of all growths, by which soul and body become to each other helps or hinderances. At this critical time, Hamlet is subjected to the most wretched experience that the nerves can undergo by reason of the warfare of emotion. Grief tends to depress the nervous vigor, anger to excite it; grief works in the direction of passivity, anger toward resentful action; grief in its first moments deadens the imagination and interposes a check on its mitigating office, while anger

quickens its creative force. Now, in such a state, the steady operation of the nervous economy is impossible. Continuity of function is interrupted. The interruption of continuity wastes healthful strength, disturbs calmness, begets confusion, and shatters self-control. This was precisely Hamlet's condition at the initial point of the dramatic movement. The soliloquy that pours forth his excitement is thoroughly in accordance with physiological law. It is interjectional, abrupt, condensed, the rapid transitions of feeling not allowing time for any faculty to perfect its impression and give itself full utterance. Here, then, at the outset, is a drama of nerves, and before the outward order of the events has assumed shape, the tragic constituents are seen gathering on the arena within. The probable Hamlet presents his contour in lines sharply defined. The strength and the weakness, the hurried advance and the quick retreat, the logic of instinct balancing itself against the logic of intellect, the facile entrance of motives that neutralize one another's urgency—these all are here, and that, too, not only as prophecy, but as actuality. Strongest among them is the voice, a fearful tempter and deceiver to many who have little of Hamlet's genius, but to Hamlet himself the worst of betrayers, because always on the alert to suspend his sense of duty. If he can dramatize his sorrows in the play of accent and emphasis, it is enough. No man ever heard his own articulations with a pride so gratifying. A voice it was that disdained to listen for an echo from the world without; and just in the degree he delighted in its tones was he the hopeless victim of illusions. On the nervous side of his nature, a man is far gone in imbecility of will when his voice is to his ear the most satisfying of sounds; and this was exactly Hamlet's condition when his distress and indignation half appeased themselves by their facility of expression in language alike eloquent and argumentative.

In this state of extreme sensitiveness, the Ghost appears. To prepare the way for its introduction, and especially to put Hamlet in a proper frame of mind for an occasion so fraught with consequences, Horatio tells him that it had "started, like a guilty thing upon a fearful summons." Hamlet is forewarned of danger. The only being in the world capable of acting on Hamlet's mind renders him a most timely service. This specific

nfluence of Horatio, guarding Hamlet against the Ghost, takes permanent hold of Hamlet, so that in the after-discussions with himself, the "extravagant and erring spirit," that flies from the light and "lies to his confine," is never forgotten. His purpose fulfilled, the Ghost disappears. During the interview was Hamlet seemingly anxious that "I . . . may sweep to my revenge." Yes; but no sooner is the sensation past than the apparent resoluteness has gone. Sensations, as relative to the intellectual and emotional nature, are short-lived, and they obey this law so as to allow the sense-impression to become the sole property of the mind. Detached from the special senses, these perceptions, as the joint product of mind and body, are delivered over to the reflective, judging, and volitional processes, from which they pass to their appropriate spheres of life. The nerves concerned in these functions demand rest after exertion, and one of the elements of this rest is the dismissal of objects that have occupied attention. But Hamlet gives his thought no repose, and accordingly he is ever reproducing his sensations by means of the intellect. The method of nature is from sensation and perception to judgment and will and action; nerves are organized to do their work in this way. Hamlet's method was sensation, perception, reflection, and then back again into sensibility and sensation; nerves rebel against this tyranny and execute vengeance on their oppressor. This beautiful method of nature is further enforced by the law of moods. Inasmuch as monotony is deadening to the nerves, they are keenly susceptible to changes. There are no such watchful sentinels in the world; and many a breath gentler than a zephyr, and many a sound less audible than a whisper, report themselves in variations of idea and emotion. If nature finds us pulling too much or too long on any one of those delicate filaments that bind the threefold brain to the outer universe, she relaxes the grasp of the dangerous hand. This is what Hamlet would not, and finally could not, do. Too much in love with his power of thought, too little in love with himself, and still less sympathetic with those responsibilities which, in daily life, are the tests of truth and the measures of endeavor, he is a spendthrift of emotion, whose experience and career consist, for the most part, in vivid alternations of sensational nerves and prolific mental faculties. Is

it strange, then, that in the Ghost scene, marking the second period of the dramatic development, he should be so bent on revenge, and immediately thereafter lapse away into a purpose to feign madness? Given the man and his surroundings, the Ghost scene had brought him to a point at which some such resort as denaturalizing himself was inevitable. To counterfeit insanity was directly in his line of advance. Had he not already progressed to the verge of its achievement? One who has gone so far in self-surrender to the luxury of emotion can scarcely fail to go farther. This will allow the largest possible interplay between sensational nerves and disordered brains, and shut up here—a drama within a drama—what compass of liberty shall be out of reach for wisdom and wit, for ridicule and sarcasm, for scorn and denunciation, for the picturesque and the romantic, for the tenderness of pathos and the wildness of anguish!

This excessive nervous disturbance enabled Hamlet to play so well the part of an insane man. Much more than genius, and even genius in a dramatizing capacity of a high grade, was requisite for a task so unique. A peculiar experience that had fathomed the mid-ocean of life was needed. Add to these a knowledge of the more obscure forms of individuality and the labyrinthine windings through which individuality, when it enlarges into eccentricity, delights to wander; and then supplement them with a courageous persistency neither to be daunted by hazards, nor worn out by long-protracted exertions:—for just such efforts and risks Hamlet was fitted; and if his chosen drama succeeds for a time and defeats itself in the end, it was simply because Hamlet put his great abilities to a wrong and most pernicious use. To undertake the evasion of responsibility in this way, and trifle for years with manly duties, was to provoke that vengeance which only slumbers in moral laws while Providence holds them under the restraint of inactivity. Wake they must, when outraged nature bids them arise and vindicate the eternal order of righteousness! This stratagem of madness ruined Hamlet. Yet dramatically, it completely answered its purpose. It was a mask to those about him, but it unmask him to us. We know him on this account more fully, and see very clearly into the intricacies of a character that otherwise would appear only as an enigma. The assumed

madness enabled Hamlet to be Hamlet in perfection, and he turned every opportunity to instant and most effective account. In a psychological point of view, the madness shows to what an extent the disordered state of his nervous system and the mental faculties had previously gone, and consequently it is little else than an exposition and commentary on Hamlet's previous history. There is not a new Hamlet, but the same Hamlet taking on larger dimensions. One or two scenes excepted—notably the one at Ophelia's grave—he keeps within the bounds of imitative art, and plays his role with consummate skill. The organic idea of the drama is not Hamlet's utter loss of self-control, such as occurs in real insanity, but an abused and perverted self-control, which runs to a fearful excess and grows upon him till it destroys him. And the final overthrow dates back to the period of return from the university. At that early day he began to break the divinely instituted connection between mind and body. On the first rupture, intellectual and moral death set in. The law of life, as shared by nerves and sensibility of soul, is that emotion shall find an outlet in action. Hamlet violated this law, and the punishment therefor was a disabled will. Another law, common to mind and body, limits our attention to those functions which are not furnished with self-guidance. Concentrate attention on any portion of mind or body not legitimate to its activity, and a disturbing element is introduced. Continue it, and the disorder is heightened. Hamlet was absorbed by self-consciousness. Hour by hour, month by month, his eye was fixed on himself and his experiences. This fixedness of attention on every sensation and susceptibility increased his irritableness, fed his morbid proclivity, and made him a prey to illusions. From the opening of his career to its close, Hamlet is a striking instance of exaggerated nervous action—a subject of an overmastering hysteria. Nor may we by any means agree with the learned men who regard Hamlet as insane. He had none of the “stuff” out of which insane men are made. Intense as his feelings were, they had a vent in the marvelous workings of his creative genius, and it would seem this vent saved him from downright insanity. And this view of the case should be the more insisted upon, since in our day there is rather a tendency to be insane on the subject of insanity.

But this aside. There is the great tragedy—a growing wonder in this cultivated age. In certain features of interest, in several aspects attractive to critical thought, men compare it with other tragedies, and especially with Shakespeare's own productions. These comparisons hold good only in the minor qualities of the play. Whatever is distinctive in Hamlet escapes this favorite method of scholarly examination, and secures a place for itself where parallelisms and contrasts have no significance. The highest greatness is not seen by setting it beside other forms of greatness, for this is the method of the senses, and not of insight. Greatness is essentially insulating. If one stands amazed before Mont Blanc, it is not because of its superiority to the neighboring Alps. Its grandeur is taken from the heavens above, not from the earth beneath; and the clouds that hang far below its summit are themselves exalted by being the apparel of its magnificence. Hamlet affects us most through original disclosures where our nature conceals itself by reason of its connections with infinity. The world is not Hamlet's trial. The questionings that ever recur and are never answered are self-questionings, and his most painful struggles are when he is farthest separated from society and most completely realizes himself. Other people throw him back upon his own perplexing nature, and the more he is in contact with associates, the more he is a paradox and enigma to his own spirit. And therefore the increasing hold that Hamlet has on this advancing age.

Among our most thoughtful men Hamlet has the position of tragic supremacy, because he is the exponent of so much in this century. Civilization is externally so splendid that it forces many to seek refuge in themselves, and our wise men, grown old, are writing their "Ecclesiastes." A deep and genuine sympathy, not born of esthetic art, but of our noblest instincts, draws us to this tragedy, which contains in itself all the profounder elements of human life, and speaks a language never heard save where the solemnity of our confused and troubled probation rests on the soul with its immortal meanings. Hamlet is a warning to one of the chief sins of this age—the glorification of the human intellect and the ruthless sacrifice of the moral nature to its imperious demands. And if one would see how rare gifts and graces may wither into

nothingness—how the best in us may become the worst, how the self-indulgence of even our higher nature will surely work its own punishment—he can find it all here in the most impressive personal form that tragedy ever assumed. Providence, as a spiritual power reigning over man, is never so awful as when it manifests itself in those finely endowed characters that have wrenched themselves away from their true relations to life and duty. And thus it is that Hamlet, the fitful and wayward Hamlet, regretful without heartfelt repentance, spasmodic not from weakness but from surplusage of undisciplined strength—thus it is that this majestic soul becomes a transparency through which Providence adapts its revelations to the vision of men. No such lesson in “vanity of vanities” has been taught since Solomon heaped around him the treasures of the whole earth only to impoverish his soul.

Nor are these the only instructions brought home to our hearts. Those human ties which are most human are concealed far down beneath the surface of our being. The tiny nervous filaments, distributed through the tissues of the organs, are invisible to the naked eye, and when combined they extend as cords to every part of the body. But we have ties that elude the scrutiny of consciousness, and our greatest influences do their work in hidden ways. Threads that reach the farthest and bind distant results most closely to our souls are often too delicate for even our observation. And so it is that we repeat ourselves in shapes and aspects least expected, and the mystery of the life within is deepened evermore by the mystery of the life without. As the procession of events moves forward in Hamlet, the shadow of what men call fate thickens in gloom. Polonius, worthy of a better destiny, is the first to perish. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, “my two school-fellows” who “bear the mandate,” are the men who “marshal” Hamlet to “knavery,” and in the trial of craft against craft they are destroyed. Ophelia, so unconsciously trustful, so firmly obedient, beautiful, too, in the strength and tenacity of her affections, passes from love and hope to disappointment and grief, then to madness, then to death. At her grave, where pathos and self-reproach and anguish rush with startling vehemence over his spirit, reason gives way, while the phantom of recollection cries out, “*This is I, Hamlet the Dane!*” The insanity is

temporary. Hamlet recovers himself, and shows his intellectual acumen in perfection when narrating to Horatio the incidents of the sea-voyage and reasoning with Laertes to convince him that he is "of the faction that is wronged." But life is exhausted now. "Fortune's finger" has sounded all the stops she pleased; there remains naught but the dirge; and that dirge is over Claudius, Gertrude, Laertes, and Hamlet, lying together in death.

ART. V.—THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

ON the banks of the Rhone, some fifty miles north of Marseilles, lies a very ancient and now decayed city whose long existence is densely packed with history. Its modern name, Avignon, comes naturally from Avenio, under which name it is described by the Roman historians. Its soil was, however, probably trod by Grecian feet five hundred years before Christ. After the Romans, it passed under the dominion of the Goths, and then of the Saracens, who were expelled from it by Charles Martel. After centuries of possession by Provençal counts it was sold in 1348 by the Countess of Provence, afterward Queen Joanna of Naples, to Pope Clement VI. for fifty thousand florins, a part of the price being that he should declare her innocent of the murder of her husband, of which she was generally believed to be guilty. It continued in papal hands till the revolution of 1791.

The city stands in one of the finest districts of France. From a rocky tower in the garden Rocher des Dons the prospect is one of the most beautiful in all Europe. The majestic Rhone flows at your feet. The blue line of the Cevennes skirts the north-west. Far across the plain toward the north-east lies Mount Ventoux, while farther southward in the dim distance are the Alps, and nearer the silver thread of the Durance winds along to its union with the Rhone. With all its beauty it was plagued with winds, and "*Avenio ventosa, sine vento venenosa, cum vento fastidiosa*" has passed as a proverb into its history. The city is still surrounded by its lofty mediæval walls, with their towers and battlements and

handsome gates, while round the ramparts runs a shady boulevard.

On the rocky eminence that overlooks the river and commands the city stands the cathedral called Notre Dame des Dons, founded originally on the site of a heathen temple, and after its destruction by the Goths rebuilt by Charlemagne. Near by is what was once the palace of the popes, now a barrack and a prison. It is a huge, irregular Gothic structure, with high, thick, gloomy walls, built piecemeal at long intervals by successive pontiffs. Its towers and chambers were in the fourteenth century the home of the Inquisition, and they still contain the atrocious implements with which it tortured the bodies of its victims. Those grim, solid walls could be at the same time the *fête* place of Petrarch, the poet-laureate of the age, and the prison-house of Rienzi, the last of the tribunes. These edifices, with one or two others of lesser note grouped with them, were the ecclesiastical heart of the city which Petrarch and other Italian historians called the Babylon of the papal Church. The years of the papal residence there were called the period of "Babylonish captivity." This period extends from 1305 to 1378, a little more than seventy years.

The dawn of the fourteenth century began a new era in the history of European governments. Theocratic institutions had reached the height of their arrogant assumption of power, and modern royalty then achieved its first victory. The bold theories of Gregory VII., which for more than two centuries had made the necks of kings the pavement for papal feet, and their thrones the playthings of papal caprice, had found at last in Philip the Fair of France a king to defy them. Boniface VIII., a true successor of Gregory and the Innocents, had made a desperate struggle to establish more firmly the shaking throne of St. Peter. But the ignominy and insult of his last days, his fearful death, and the probable poisoning of his successor, showed that popular sentiment no longer regarded the person of the pope as sacred nor his authority as supreme. In the leading States of Europe, after the long dark ages of faction and disintegration—after the successive attempts at the imperial, aristocratic, republican, and mixed forms of royalty—there had at last emerged the essential idea of the twofold nature of nations, a government and a people. This idea had found

embodiment in powerful leaders. The Plantagenets had been its champions, and Edward III. was soon to surpass them all. Bannockburn and Crecy were its battle-fields. The last kings of the Capetian dynasty were to transmit it greatly strengthened to the house of Valois. Charles IV., with his Golden Bull, was its fitting representative in Germany. Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, was to make it the policy of Sweden and Denmark at the close of the century. Switzerland had known her William Tell, and Spain was to see the culmination of royalty in Charles V. It was the development of this principle that had secularized the nations. It was the deadly enemy of ecclesiastical assumption and tyranny. And though the tide of the battle had changed, yet it was around the banners of the Church that the blood of the people was still to flow, the strategy of generals was to find its field, and the keenest diplomacy of cardinals and statesmen was to match its powers.

This antagonism of Church and State was accompanied, perhaps largely caused, by the effort of the human mind to assert itself—to cease its worm-like crawling and put on wings. Philosophy, literature, law, religion, began to be fields in which the mind claimed its right to independent thought without the shackles of ecclesiastical supervision. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus had led the way in the realm of scholastic philosophy. Gower and Chaucer had laid the foundation of English literature. Before the close of the fourteenth century Wiclif was to throw, as a firebrand among tinder-like combustibles, his English Bible into the excited thought of the age. Dante was just singing his divine songs in Italy and giving shape to her language. Petrarch and Boccaccio soon followed, the former a prominent actor in the arena of that Avignon he so aptly termed the Babylon of the Church.

The tide of papal supremacy had at last reached its height, and therein lay one of the mightiest of those crises that determine human affairs. The climbing aspirations of the human spirit came at length to a final pinnacle. That summit in the case of the papacy was gained when, at the jubilee of A.D. 1300, Boniface VIII., seated on the throne of Constantine in military garb, girded with a sword, a crown upon his head and a scepter in his hand, shouted to the assembled myriads before him, "I am Caesar—I am Emperor." Little by little, from local and

humble supervision over the spiritual interests of men, the papal authority had crept on till its claim embraced all human interests in all Christendom. Long years it had been content that the spiritual and the secular should move side by side in complete accord in the government of the world. But dualism in headship is always a monstrosity. There may be harmony for a season, but soon or later headship means unity. All save one must become subordinate. And so at last the spiritual locked the temporal in its invisible fetters. The pope was the sole representative on earth of the Deity, and from him, therefore, must kings derive their power, and the temporal must be the slave instead of the sister of the spiritual. There must be a presiding power that should oversee the secular concerns of the nations, hold kings and emperors as their hereditary agents, be umpire in strifes, the source of international law, the judge in all causes, and the enforcer of its own sentences. Many conditions and powers helped the claim of the popes. Their office was sacred. They controlled the terrible weapons of excommunication and interdict. Their position was supposed to lift them above personal interest and narrowing jealousies. But experience had proved that the holiest office could be polluted by the lust and passions of the holder, and that the corruption of the best is always the worst.

And so the tide turned. But it must go out as it came in. No earthquake convulsions to swallow up the waters on the instant, but first a decided check, and then the slow, fierce struggle until the final ebb. Philip the Fair was the rocky barrier against which the highest tide dashed in vain. It was he that fulfilled the closing part of the famous prophecy concerning Boniface VIII., that he should enter like a fox, reign like a lion, and die like a dog. The tide turned with Boniface; but the slime it had deposited, and the foul relics of its recession, are more clearly visible in the period of the "Babylonish captivity."

Seven pontiffs sat on the throne of St. Peter during this portion of papal history. The first of these, Clement V., had consented to the degradation of the tiara that he might win it. The crown of Boniface, the disposer of secular crowns and the lord of all realms in its lofty claims, after a brief glitter on the head of Benedict XI. had tumbled to the feet of Philip the

Fair, whence Clement had humbled himself to pick it up. Philip had been able to dictate his own conditions. Those conditions completely reconciled him to the Church that had so lately denounced and deposed him; absolved all his agents in the struggle with Boniface; gave him for five years the tenths from the clergy of the realm; condemned the memory of Boniface; reinstated the Colonnas in the rank and honors of the cardinalate; and gave him the privilege of demanding whatever one thing the secret future should make desirable. That Clement should be willing to accept the papal scepter on such terms, and wield it under the eye and in the dominions of Philip, reveals at once the meanness of his nature and the tremendous force of that royal blow which could so stagger and stun the papal power. Those who judge the character of Clement most charitably declare that the Holy Ghost could have had nothing to do with an election to office so marked by human policy and deceit, and that his avarice and ambition knew no bounds. He died shamefully rich, though he had lived shamefully prodigal. It was generally believed that the beautiful Countess of Perigord was his mistress, who gratified his lusts that she might revel in his wealth and wield his power. Villani charges him with resorting to magic that he might ascertain what had become of the departed soul of one of his nephews. Dante places him in hell. His burial was ignoble; and though the subsequent piety of the Church gave him a silver coffin and an alabaster monument, yet his evil fame led the disciples of Calvin two hundred years later to plunder his tomb and burn his remains.

John XXII. was the son of a cobbler. For more than two years the papal see had been vacant. The impatience of Christendom at length convened the conclave at Lyons. After forty days of vain wrangling they agreed to elect whom the bishop of Porto should nominate. He was equal to so fortunate an occasion, and coolly nominated himself. Others say that the gold of the king of Naples had bribed the Italian cardinals to vote for the bishop, but only on condition that Rome should be the papal seat. He promised upon oath never to mount a horse or a mule, but in order to go to Rome. After his coronation at Lyons, to avoid a breach of his oath, the Rhone became his steed as far as Avignon, where he walked from the

water-side to the palace, and never stirred from it for the eighteen years of his pontificate. The popedom thus won by hypocrisy and meanness was held with arrogance and cruelty. John, though a man of profound learning, indorsed the current belief of the age in sorcery and magic. He provided against arts of magic by the virtue of a serpentine ring lent to him by Margaret, countess of Foix. And when neither this nor the sanctity of his person prevented a conspiracy against his life, his cruel disposition appears in the punishment of the bishop who was charged with using diabolic arts against him. The unfortunate man was flayed alive and torn asunder by four horses. Cruel persecutions were also instituted against various forms of heresy. The last argument for orthodoxy was the torture and the stake. The avarice of John far exceeded that of his predecessor. He devised new methods continually to increase his wealth. Among them was the annates, by which every clergyman appointed to a benefice was obliged to pay the pope one year's income before taking possession of it. By this and other means, notwithstanding his luxurious prodigality, he left at his death 18,000,000 florins of gold in coined money and 7,000,000 in ingots, jewels, and other valuables. The edict of Louis of Bavaria declared that by his scandalous life and enormous wickedness he had forfeited every ecclesiastical dignity. John had excommunicated Louis for leaguings with the Ghibellines to secure the imperial throne; but the status of royalty at this time, as against popery, was well illustrated by the subsequent crowning of Louis at Rome by two excommunicated bishops amid the acclamations of the people. For heresy and treason he formally deposed Pope John, and cashiered him from his papal office. On Ascension Day he took his seat in the Piazza of St. Peter's on an imperial throne, and, amid the glitter and pomp of court and clergy, formally decreed Peter di Corvari the true Roman pope, put on his finger the ring of St. Peter, arrayed him in the pall, and saluted him by the name of Nicholas V. The emperor, the anti-pope, and the Ghibellines were for the time triumphant. It is worthy of notice that the pet dogma of John—the sleep of the soul at death with no waking till the resurrection—found no sympathy either in the current theology or in popular sentiment. He was obliged to retract, and the heated disputes,

with the chagrin of defeat, were among the embitterments of his last days.

By a whimsical compromise, and an unexpected vote, the college of cardinals elected Benedict XII. as the successor of John XXII. When he found himself suddenly raised to a dignity to which he had never thought of aspiring, he told the cardinals that they had elected an ass for their pope. His administrative virtues are conceded to have been a rebuke to the vices of his predecessors. But his private character, if any credit may be given to his enemies, was far from faultless. The epitaph that described him as "a Nero, death to the laity, a viper to the clergy, without truth, a mere cup of wine," may have been too bitter an exaggeration. The current proverb, "as drunk as a pope," owed to him its origin and illustration. He is said to have seduced and kept as a concubine a sister of Petrarch. Probably such accusations have only too much foundation.

Whatever is believed concerning the character of Benedict, the corruption of his successor, Clement VI., can hardly be disputed. The court of Avignon became at once the gayest and most luxurious in Europe. The apostolic coffers seemed inexhaustible. Preferment was bestowed with lavish hand without regard to qualifications or character. His own relations received a liberal share. The papal palace was made one of the most magnificent structures in the world. Art adorned its spacious halls and learning graced it. The pope was more royal in his attire and more splendid in receptions, banquets, studs of horses, and gorgeous displays than the kings and emperors who paid him court. He took great delight in the company of women, and neither checked nor disguised his amorous disposition. The Countess of Turenne, beautiful, ambitious, and shameless, seemed to surpass all others in his affections, and to obtain the most of his favors. His luxurious and licentious example gave free sanction to the monstrous corruption of the city and was the disgrace and curse of his age.

Innocent VI. commenced his career as pope by falsifying the solemn oath that secured his election. That oath related to a statute which, if observed, would have made the cardinalate superior to the pontificate in its independence and privilege. As cardinal he had sworn to the statute; as pope he

declared it null and illegal. He had no scruple to resort to the cruelties of the Inquisition to subdue heresy. But in spite of perjury and cruelty he was a great improvement on his predecessor. He is termed by the historian of Latin Christianity the most powerful and most prudent of the Avignonese pontiffs. A splendid tomb just across the Rhone at Villeneuve still remains to mark his resting-place.

It would be an interesting investigation to inquire how far the visitations of God in great public calamities are reformatory. And as a special case in point, it would be interesting to know how much the black plague of these years had to do with the elevation of moral tone both in clergy and laity. This terrible plague broke out in Europe in 1348. It lasted through the popedom of Clement VI., and raged fearfully at Avignon in 1361 while Innocent was in the papal chair. In some places it carried off two thirds of the inhabitants; in others, it left only a twentieth part. At Avignon five cardinals and a hundred bishops died of it in three months. The cemeteries were all filled and multitudes of the dead lay unburied. Priests deserted their parishes, and princes their palaces. Only the mendicant friars cared for the sick or shrouded the dead. The Flagellantes, with a cross in one hand and a whip of knotted thongs in the other, scourged their bare shoulders through the highways and streets, bewailing their sins. Amid all this woe and suffering and walking in the face of death, it might be supposed that men of all ranks would halt in their paths of crime and vice, and fear the retributions of another world. Doubtless with some it had such an effect. But many plunged more desperately into debauchery, and many more made the miseries of others the occasion and the means of their own profit. Religion seldom finds a permanent revival as the result of great calamities. The pious only are made more pious by affliction. Floods and plagues and great national troubles may alarm and destroy, but piety born of terror dies young. The wicked pass on and are punished.

Urban V. was elected pope on the 28th of October, 1362. The value of papal bulls and absolutions in that age is well illustrated in the case of Barnabo Visconti, one of the most powerful of the Italian princes. He had declared himself

king, pope, and emperor in his own dominion. He had practiced monstrous cruelties upon the clergy; burned some alive in iron cages; bored their ears with hot irons; forced a priest to anathematize the pope and all his cardinals. For these and other crimes he had been over and over again excommunicated. But now by Urban he was absolved from all his sins on condition of giving up Bologna to the papal dominion with certain strongholds he had seized, and leaving the Guelphs in his own territories unmolested. Five hundred thousand florins of gold was the pope's dowry, also, on his reunion with the Church. Surely Urban understood the relation of politics and religion. But, alas for the waning power of the pope when such concessions were necessary! Still, against the personal character of Urban nothing is alleged. By the contemporary writers of his time he is regarded as among the best of the popes. He did much to discourage the avarice and licentiousness of the clergy, and much to promote learning and reward virtue. He made a show of removing the papal seat to Rome again and of reconciling the papacy to the empire. But the attractions of Avignon were too mighty, and he died there at last with the cross in his hand, on a couch before the altar of St. Peter, whither he had been carried to die in the sight of all the people.

Gregory XI. was the last of the Babylonian popes. Personally blameless in morals, his pontificate was passed in the midst of stormy conflicts, and was succeeded by the great schism that convulsed Latin Christendom, and threatened to make the Alps the boundary of a divided Church. His death at Rome, while his heart was at Avignon, typified the double succession to the papal crown which rent the Church for nearly forty years.

The character of the Babylonian popes fairly represents, probably, that of the inferior dignitaries of the Church as well as of the masses of the people. Benedict XII. was painted with his fist closed, because he was slow to confer Church preferments on men of gross moral character. Petrarch commended Gregory XI. for not following the example of his predecessor in bestowing benefices on none but those of great virtue, because in that case none would be conferred. How consistently he could bestow such a commendation we can well see

when we remember that he himself, with all the excellence of character ascribed to him, was the father of two illegitimate children. He is said to have been disgusted and intensely indignant at the dissipation and corruption of the city and court of Avignon. What, then, must have been the immorality around him if we estimate it in the light of his own? He speaks of the city as one vast brothel. Rome itself was, in comparison, the seat of matronly virtue.

The denunciation which Clement VI. delivered against the prelates as one of the last acts of his life, is emphatic testimony to their corruption. Said he:

And if the friars were not to preach to the people, what would ye preach? Humility? You, the proudest, the most disdainful, the most magnificent among all the estates of men, who ride abroad in procession on your stately palfreys! Poverty? Ye who are so greedy, so obstinate in the pursuit of gain, that all the prebends and benefices of the world would not satiate your avidity! Chastity? Of this I say nothing! God knows your lives, how your bodies are pampered with pleasures! If you hate the begging friars and close your doors against them, it is that they may not see your lives; you had rather waste your breath on panders and ruffians than on mendicants!

One hundred years before, the bishop of Liege had publicly boasted that fourteen children had been born to him in the space of twenty-two months. Forty years after the death of Clement VI., Pope John XXIII. illustrated, as scarcely any other man had ever done, the depth of monstrous lust and cruelty to which a human being could go. The period of the "Babylonian captivity" was not better (perhaps not worse) in the moral character of both clergy and laity than the other centuries of mediæval Church history.

The Church of the Middle Ages was an ecclesiastical system which, under the forms of piety and religion, raised the hierarchy to marvelous power with its strong temptations to tyranny and luxury, while it degraded the masses of the laity by playing upon their fears and superstitions. It was a machine manipulated by the few for their own earthly aggrandizement at the expense of the souls of men. By it the most godlike element in man was cheated into the most servile obedience to human dogma, issued often by polluted and lying lips as a divine command. The Avignonese period was in the

center of this epoch. The papal chair had long been the prize of Machiavelian diplomacy, though claiming to be the gift of divine decision. It had assumed and exercised supremacy over kings and emperors as an essential function of its power. But the height of that power had been reached, and secular rulers now successfully questioned and resisted it. The pope-dom of Clement V. was the virtual gift of Philip the Fair. The giver was able to make his own conditions, and the receiver was willing to accept it at the stipulated price. He was a man of unbounded ambition and great duplicity. He owed all his preferments to Boniface. He was ready to sacrifice friendship, as well as gratitude, to his ambition. He was ready to accept the dictation of the secular power; to wear the triple crown stripped of some of its stars, rather than not have it at all. He was content that Christendom should have a new center, and that Rome should lose her dominion. The throne of St. Peter was transferred to French soil, and the bishop of Rome was only a French prelate. A French pope acknowledged a French king as his master. Such was the inauguration of the "captivity." The transition from the authority of Boniface to the subserviency of Clement was as complete a revolution as could well be conceived. And in it all was not one trace of pious purpose for the souls of men, but only the selfish grasping of worldly ambition, luxurious lust, and miserly avarice.

The character of the inferior clergy was not misrepresented in that of the head of the Church. The scramble for clerical holdings of every grade was intense, and shared by large numbers. Real love for the souls of men was a motive either altogether unknown or far in the background. The loaves and fishes were the real motive. The existing priesthood and the candidates for it were in their spirit largely the genuine descendants of the sons of Eli. Simony was the most common of crimes. The poor priest-ridden people were taxed to poverty to support their spiritual masters and advisers in hypocritical idleness; and, worse than all, examples of drunkenness and lust in those whom they were taught to reverence and imitate gave ample license to the lower classes of society. The moral status of Romish Christianity during the reign of the seven popes at Avignon could hardly have been worse.

The foreshadowing of that mighty Reformation which appeared two centuries later lay partially in this very characteristic of the papal Church. When the nadir should be reached it would be time for the reaction to begin. The forces which were to bring the Church to that lowest point of degradation were in mighty and rapid operation. When they seemed to carry it to the height of its prosperity they were really plunging it into the depths of ruin. Like the steeds of Phaethon, if held by a master they carried the chariot on the brilliant pathway of the sky; if guided by reckless ignorance they became unmanageable and wrecked the whole. The zenith became the nadir. Jerusalem changed to Babylon. The very elements which made the Church powerful made it also corrupt. Persecutions and martyrdoms were the fruitful stimulants of its growth. Power and wealth were the instruments that brought decay and death.

The clergy were a close corporation, independent of the laws of the State. A priest was amenable to no civil law. Whatever his crime, he must be tried by the members of his guild. And the clergy were made to include any body who could write his name or read even a sentence from a book. Whoever could give this proof of membership in the clerical body was entitled to benefit of clergy, and to be tried by his peers. The walls of a monastery were as complete a protection to the criminal as the Jewish cities of refuge. Not even the king could open their gates for the officers of the law. But on the other hand, the sanction of the Church was essential to every officer, from tithingman to king, and to the operation of every civil law. The decree of the Church could strip off even royal robes and annul the decision of any secular court. The clergy made laws for the laity and compelled their obedience. The laity made laws and the clergy disobeyed them with impunity. Such in brief was the relation of the Church to the State.

What was the religion of the people? It was summed up in the sentence, "Believe the priest and do his bidding." The popular religion was to the genuine religion of the Bible what the manikin is to the man. It was a lifeless machine with the priest at the crank. The more intelligent the priest the greater the hypocrite. He was an unbeliever in his own professions, and made gain of the credulity of others. At the very conse-

eration of the Eucharist he said in his heart, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain." The piety of the laity was simply ceremonial conformity. The rite of extreme unction was ample atonement for a corrupt life, and a rich fee as a death present secured exemption from purgatory. The morality of the people would, of course, correspond with their religion. The example of idle, sensual monks who swarmed every-where—of priests who did not scruple to invade the sanctities of domestic life—could not fail to penetrate the whole fabric of society. Every sin was easy because, however gross, a few mumbled words and a little money would make all clean again.

When Petrarch and the other Italian writers designated Avignon as Babylon, and this epoch of the Romish Church as the "Babylonish captivity," they used these terms in the whole breadth of their meaning. Babylon, in the Scriptures, is the antithesis of Jerusalem. As the latter is the type of the purity of heaven, so the former is the symbol of the abominations of hell. Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, and others, were not afraid even in their day to use the words in this application. Avignon was no mere receptacle of a deported papal throne and court, but it was the center of a corruption that overspread Christendom. It was the core of the Church's rottenness, whence spread far-flowing streams of filth and pollution. As a specimen of vigorous invective it would be difficult to find a more striking one than a letter from Petrarch to a confidential friend. He says:

I am at present in the western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous, and beside the fierce Rhone, where the successors of the poor fishermen now live as kings. Here the credulous crowd of Christians are caught in the name of Jesus, but by the arts of Belial, and being stripped of their scales, are fried to fill the belly of gluttons. Go to India, or wherever you choose, but avoid Babylon if you do not wish to go down alive to hell. Whatever you have heard or read of as to perfidy and fraud, pride, incontinence and unbridled lust, impiety and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. Rejoice, and glory in this, O Babylon, situated on the Rhone, that thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum of wild beasts, the whore that hast committed fornication with the kings of the earth! Thou art she whom the inspired evangelist saw in the Spirit; yes, thee,

and none but thee, he saw "sitting upon many waters." See thy dress—"A woman clothed in purple and scarlet." Dost thou know thyself, Babylon? Certainly what follows agrees to thee and none else—"Mother of fornications and abominations of the earth." But hear the rest—"I saw," says the evangelist, "a woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." Point out another to whom this is applicable but thee.

The Latin eclogues of Petrarch were full of the same satirical denunciation, and his sonnets in his own language still more openly characterized the holy see as the "school of error, the temple of heresy, the forge of fraud, the hell of the living." Yet Petrarch and his contemporaries, with all their eyes saw of its infamy, had no thought of renouncing the Romish communion! What philosophy shall explain this and kindred facts in the history of the Church in all ages?

The acme of papal power was reached in 1198 A. D., with the reign of Innocent III. From that time until the decease of Boniface VIII., fully a hundred years, the popes sat on the thrones of princes and the benches of judges as truly as in their legitimate spiritual seat at the head of the Church. The declension of their power began with Clement V., the first of the Babylonian popes, and has never ceased. No epochs of its history were more disastrous than the seventy years of the "captivity" and the forty of the great schism which grew directly out of it. Then came the authority of councils, and then the Reformation. From that day popery was doomed, though the throes of its death-struggles have been long and bloody.

The forces that wrought against it can easily be traced. One important enemy was its own obesity. It was not only too plethoric for locomotion, but it was too heavily loaded for its frame-work. It must collapse by its own weight. Vaulting ambition overreaches itself. The treasure-house bursts under the pressure of its contents. The tightening grasp of tyranny at last tortures the sufferer into self-defense. The subtle influences of unbounded prosperity transforms him who should be the holiest of men into the wickedest, and the simple truths of the Gospel into the iron machinery of terrible oppression.

Nationality was asserting itself. That idea was naturally

hostile to papal claims. If a nation was a separate entity, and not a limb of the papal body; if it had an inherent individuality and an independent mission, then the claim of the Church was a usurpation to be resisted. The sphere of the Church was essentially and unchangeably different from that of the State. No monkish incantation nor priestly magic could transform the chair of St. Peter into a secular seat. It was not consistent with the spiritual functions of the head of the Church to lay taxes, receive revenues, raise and manage armies, enact and enforce civil laws, and, in a word, hold the reins of State in his own hand. All this must be done by proxy and by an influence exerted from without. The vicar of Christ must somehow persuade kings and princes that they were ordained of God to be the ministers of the Church, and the executors of his will through its earthly head. When, therefore, rulers and nations broke loose from that theory it would be fatal to the continuance of secular power in the Church. Just this happened.

Philip the Fair, though more as an individual than as the head of a nation, began the fight, and Boniface VIII. found himself unhorsed in the terrible tilt. The house of Valois took up the glove, and France rapidly rose to national independence. England and Germany were not slow to take the same position. Various incidents in the history of minor princes also show that the disposition to defy the claims of the pope was abroad. "Dost thou know, thou old fornicator," said Barnabo Visconti, lord of Milan, "that I am king, pope, and emperor in my own dominions; that the pope has no power over me nor any of my subjects?" Louis of Bavaria declared the pope's absolution of the vassals of the empire from their oaths "a wicked procurement of perjury; the act, not of a vicar of Christ, but of a cruel and lawless tyrant."

Language and literature were beginning their noiseless yet mighty warfare against ecclesiastical despotism. Learning and religion became restive in the too narrow drapery of the Latin language. New tongues began to take shape and embody living thoughts. Men might pray possibly, it began to be thought, in some other than a dead language. Ceremonial and court language might be other than the Latin. Greek put on its resurrection robe. Learning revived. All this

struck heavily at obsolete and antique forms, smitten already with the symptoms of decay. Moreover, many writers appeared who turned their invective either in satire or denunciation with the utmost bitterness and directness against the crimes and licentiousness of the clergy. Such were the "*Facetiæ*" of Poggio, the "*Speculum Stultorum*" of Nigel Wircker, and nearer the Reformation the "Praise of Folly," by Erasmus. Burchiello, Pulci, Franco, Walter Mapes, Hemmerlein, Brandt, and others, wrote works that told terribly on the vices of those who "divided their hours between the chapel, the pot-house, and the brothel." William of Occam and John Wiclif in quite another way made learning the agent of reform. The one by his philosophy, and the other by his translation of the Bible, made great havoc with the pretensions of the Church. With all these enemies of popery put also the general awakening of the human mind to independent thought on all subjects, the activity of the spirit of investigation and discovery, the invention of printing, and the general quickening of individual human life, and you have the main causes which wrought the downfall of the papal throne.

One of the most important of the institutions of the papacy beginning with this epoch and continuing for centuries, was the so-called jubilee. It was an agency of great power and profit to the popes, strikingly illustrative of their ingenuity, as well as the credulity of believers. But it also led the way to that gross and wholesale issuing of indulgences that did so much to inaugurate the Reformation. The first of these jubilees was celebrated just before the "captivity" in accordance with a bull of Boniface, founded on slight historical basis, but some traditional testimony. A Church historian had asserted that in the last year of the 12th century not only Romans, but foreigners, had flocked to St. Peter's Church to gain the indulgences which they had been told were to be had in the last year of every century. An old native of Savoy, one hundred and seven years of age, declared to Boniface that he was there with his father one hundred years before, and that the city was crowded with those seeking indulgences. Other old men corroborated these stories on the testimony of their fathers and grandfathers. Boniface saw his opportunity and resolved to confirm the solemnity forever. He issued a bull granting full

remission of all sins to all who in the current year, beginning and ending with Christmas, and every one hundreth thereafter, should visit the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, provided they sincerely repented of these sins and confessed them. Romans must visit the two churches once a day for thirty days, and strangers for fifteen. John Villani visited Rome on this occasion, and assures us that two hundred thousand strangers were in the city during the year, and that they were all supplied with provisions at reasonable rates. Immense sums of money were offered at the tombs of the two apostles. On the first day of the jubilee Boniface appeared in the gorgeous robes of the high pontiff and blessed the people. On the second he showed himself in the imperial mantle, two swords being carried before him by attendants crying, "Behold, here are two swords!" thus assuming the supreme temporal as well as spiritual power.

In 1343 Clement VI. changed the celebration of the jubilee from the one hundred to the fiftieth year, in imitation of the Jewish jubilee. In August, 1348, as the time drew near, he issued a special bull urging all throughout Christendom to avail themselves of this privilege, as it might be the last. Such crowds flocked to Rome, says Petrarch, that one would have thought that the plague which had almost unpeopled the earth had not so much as thinned it. On Passion Sunday, when the handkerchief of Veronica was shown, the crowd was so great that many were suffocated and died in the throng. Matthew Villani, an eye-witness, says that by the computation of the Romans the daily number in Rome from Christmas to Easter was one million to one million two hundred thousand; from Easter to Whitsunday, eight hundred thousand; and through all the excessive heats of summer in no day was there less than two hundred thousand. Meyer says that scarcely one in ten ever returned home, but died of fatigue and hunger. The Romans treated the pilgrims with great cruelty, and made the occasion their harvest for gain.

Urban VI. reduced the jubilee from every fiftieth to every thirty-third year, in memory of the duration of the Saviour's life on earth. During the whole of the year 1390 Rome was crowded with pilgrims from all countries and all ranks of society. But by special permission the kings and queens of

England and Portugal were allowed the same indulgences at home as others obtained by the journey. They must, however, pay the same sum as the journey would have cost them. After the year had expired the same privileges were extended to all who could not make the pilgrimage. Vast sums of money thus came into the papal coffers. The agents of the pope abused their powers, set up their indulgences to the highest bidders, absolved from any crime provided the money was forthcoming, and required no penitence nor restitution.

In 1450 the sixth jubilee was celebrated. The period was now reduced to twenty-five years by Paul II. and Sextus IV., and this is still the period for its celebration. It partially replaced the crusades as a moral force supporting the power of the pope, and led the way, perhaps, to that extensive and reckless sale of indulgences which was the immediate occasion of the Protestant Reformation.

The epoch of the Church we have now been discussing was followed by that of the great schism of the West. In 1378 Urban VI. took his papal seat on the Tiber, and Clement VII. his anti-papal seat on the Rhone. Of the one it was said: "None is so insolent as a low man suddenly raised to power;" of the other, that his name was the antithesis of his character. In Urban, his craft, treachery, and utter inhumanity seemed almost to confirm the charge of madness. In Clement, high birth, courage, and sagacity were a poor offset to his utter want of devotion, holiness, or mercy. For forty years pope and anti-pope glared at each other across the Alps, and Christendom, arrayed in rival battalions, angrily turned the Church into a battle-field of hellish strife, and the States of Europe into an arena of intrigue, hate, and blood. Each pope was most anxious to heal the schism, provided it could be done by the resignation of the other. Boniface, the successor of Urban, addressed Clement by the unconciliating title of Son of Belial; Clement in return threw the messengers of Boniface into prison. Cession, arbitration, a general council, were proposed to heal the breach. It was of no avail. The Rhone pope in his own palace suffered siege, capture, and five years' imprisonment. After his release he invited the principal burghers of Avignon to a feast, barred the doors upon them, and burned them alive. The Vatican pope was tossed on waves of blood.

Murder and pillage reddened the Tiber and blackened the Eternal City. At last came councils—Pisa, Constance, Basle—and a new assumption of power in conflict with papal rights. Then the deposition of both popes and the election of a third. Then at last in 1447 the election of Thomas of Sarzana as Nicholas V., and in 1449 the abdication of Pope Felix, and the Latin Church had once more a single head.

The popedom of Nicholas marks the culmination of this important epoch of the papacy. The dominion of Latin Christianity was drawing to a close, and the dawn of Teutonic Christianity was breaking. A century of such rule as was seen in the career of several of the popes between this period and the Reformation, with their nepotism, horrible cruelty and lust, wars, intrigues, and disasters, was enough. The cup was full, and the permanent division of Christendom was accomplished.

And yet it was during this last century of her power that the Latin Church conferred some of her richest benefits upon the world. Unconsciously, in these very benefits she drew a fatal sword upon herself. To throttle the philosophy of the schoolmen and to patronize the literature of the classics was to put a keen blade into the hands of her enemies. To entertain and introduce to men the poets, philosophers, and historians of Greece was to admit a conquering Cyrus through the channel of her own Euphrates into a self-complacent and secure Babylon. To pour upon the world the light of letters and the beauty of art; to plant her cathedrals, which in their grand silence forever preach a more refining Gospel than the mumbled rituals within, was to break the fetters of ignorance and superstition, and give birth to a power she could never again control.

ART. VI.—TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

THE discovery and publication of an early patristic document, that was supposed to be entirely lost, and the further fact that this ancient treatise, on examination, proves to be of very considerable value, is an event of not a little interest, in these times of active and learned biblical research; and precisely this we have in the case of "TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES." Nine years ago—in 1875—Philotheos Briennios, then metropolitan of Serses in Mesopotamia, discovered in the Library of the Holy Sepulcher, in Constantinople, a manuscript volume of which almost nothing appears to have been before known, but which proved on examination to be of great value. It was written in cursive Greek, and is dated A. D. 1056; the scribe or copyist signs himself "Leon, copyist and sinner." The book is made up of 120 leaves or folios of parchment, and contains, first, "Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Books of the New and Old Testaments;" then the "Epistle of Barnabas;" next in order are two "Epistles of Clement;" then comes the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," occupying pages 76–80 of the manuscript, and this is followed by "Twelve Epistles of Ignatius"—the current seven, besides one to the Virgin Mary, and four others. The "find" was chiefly prized by the finder for its complete copies of the "Epistles of Clement," neither of which had been found entire in any of the known manuscripts; and these were soon after published, having been carefully edited by the discoverer. But the pages of the "Teaching" did not escape his notice, for he announced its discovery in his edition of the Clementine Epistles. The new-found book was examined by a number of eminent patristic scholars, but, as far as appears, without suspecting its real character. It is manifest that Bishop Briennios had no correct appreciation of the value of this portion of his discovery, for he said nothing about it when, in addition to the Clementine Epistles, he called public attention to the fact that the book contained the complete Greek text of Barnabas and the "Epistles of Ignatius," both of which he proposed to prepare for publication. Bishop Lightfoot seems to have very faintly suspected that there might be something worthy of attention in the

"Teaching," for in the appendix to his new edition of "St. Clement of Rome" he remarked in passing, while recognizing the great value of "the new Greek of Barnabas," that "what may be the value of the 'Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum' remains to be seen." And what is still more strange, certain German scholars were engaged in restoring the lost book from fragments preserved in other works, while the complete manuscript, whose discovery had been made public, was disregarded. For eight years after its discovery the "Teaching" remained quietly in the hands of the good bishop, who, during that time, and apparently as a labor of love, carefully edited it, and then gave it to the public, "with an abundance of learned illustrations." This was done in 1883.

A book answering very fully to this is referred to by several of the early apostolic fathers, and, indeed, there can be no doubt of both its genuineness and its antiquity. It is cited by Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius speaks of it in his History as τῶν Ἀποστόλων οἱ λεγόμενοι διδασκαί; and Athanasius names it in one of his epistles. Both the Apostolical Constitutions and the Apostolical Epitome were evidently in part drawn from this work. From these sources the attempt was made, by Krawatzky and others, to reconstruct the lost document, with most remarkable success, as is seen by comparing their work with the original. A catalogue of the books of the Scriptures, canonical and uncanonical, attributed to Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, (A. D. 806-814,) includes among the latter the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and it is placed between the "Gospel of Thomas" and the "Epistles of Clement." This is the latest reference anywhere found to the document. The "Teaching" probably belongs to the second century. Some would even place it in the last decade of the first, but about the middle of the second is its most probable date. Its whole tone is in harmony with the recognized writings of that time, and while it contains nothing which forbids its assignment to that date, its antiquity is corroborated by an abundance of collateral evidence.

In respect to its form and substance the "Teaching" appears to have been designed to serve as a manual to Christian converts and believers, and a directory for certain ordinary religious services. The first six chapters relate to moral duties. Then follow instructions respecting baptism, fasting, and

prayer, the eucharist, with forms of prayer and thanksgiving. After these are given somewhat definite instructions in respect to religious teachers; cautions against impostors and pretenders; exhortations to duly reverence the genuine; the Lord's day services; directions respecting the appointment and the treatment of bishops and deacons; of brotherly love and duty, and of personal devotion and watchfulness—the whole made the more impressive by a reference to Christ's expected coming "in the clouds of heaven, and all his saints with him."

In tone and style the tractate is Petrine rather than Pauline; Judaistic or Syrian rather than Ephesian or Roman, and it has therefore been inferred that its place of origin must have been somewhere in the East, perhaps Antioch, or some other place in Northern Syria. Its forms of thought and its references and illustrations are distinctively Jewish; and yet there are manifestly purposed oppositions to certain Jewish opinions and practices—as when a difference respecting the fast-days is prescribed, or the "Lord's day" substituted for the Sabbath, as the time for the assembling for public worship. But, as with the Jews, the hours of prayer and the days for fasting are definitely prescribed. The ethical element has the first place; great emphasis is laid on certain observances—fasting, almsgiving, and forms of prayer. On the other hand, there is a notable absence of reference to the peculiar facts and doctrines of the Gospel; to the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and the forgiveness of sin in virtue of his atoning sacrifice. In these things the "Teaching" is not unlike the Epistle of James, presenting chiefly the ethical and disciplinary side of religion. These things indicate that its locality must have been elsewhere than in Western Asia or Europe—the regions in which the specifically Pauline conceptions of Christianity prevailed.

Respecting the date of its composition the internal evidence agrees very well with the external, fixing it not later than the earlier part of the second century. The coincidences of both thought and language between it and both *Hermas* and *Barnabas* render it almost certain that either these quoted from that, or that from these; and it seems the more probable that the "Teaching" was the original. Certainly, ritualistic tendencies early manifested themselves in the Church; at first in

very small proportions, but steadily increasing in extent and exactness. Signs of the beginning of these things are clearly manifest in this tractate, which appear in the "Pastor of Hermas," and the "Epistle of Barnabas" still further developed. The Apostles' Creed, also, lies in this line of development, for while in the "Teaching" no confession of faith is prescribed to the candidate for baptism, the Creed, which must have been a somewhat later production, and which was required of candidates, is a rather comprehensive statement of Christian *credenda*. The Apostolical Constitutions, which belong to a still later time, carry the ritualistic prescription much further. As, therefore, the place of the preparation of this manual was pretty certainly somewhere toward the east of north-east of the Mediterranean Sea, so also its date very naturally falls within the first half of the second century.

The references to various classes or orders of Christian teachers and inchoate ecclesiastical arrangements indicate an existing transitional state of things. Not much is said about apostles, but evidently their place is supplied by the "prophets," who seem to have been a class of itinerant evangelists, with more or less authority according as they were or were not recognized as "true prophets." But clearly they could exercise only a moral and advisory authority in the Church; and even in that day the abuse of the "religious tramp" had become so large that each new-comer was required to prove his claims—to work for his own support, or to pass on. The local churches were becoming individualized, with the two cardinal conditions of self-government and self-support. There were "bishops," but these were manifestly of the same kind or order, as elders or presbyters; and there were "deacons," stewards of the temporalities, who, however, were expected to be like their predecessors at Jerusalem, "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom;" but they were such as in the Church of our day would be styled laymen. The distinction of three orders in the ministry seems to have been as yet unknown; and as that began to appear scarcely earlier than the end of the second century, these things agree with the conclusion before reached as to the date of this writing.

The instructions respecting baptism, fasting, and the eucharist indicate a very considerable growth of ritualism, as

pared with what is found in the New Testament, and yet much less than appears in the Apostolical Constitutions. In the New Testament nothing is required but to profess faith in Christ, and purposed repentance, and the form of the administration has been left so undefined that nobody knows certainly what was the mode of apostolical baptism. In the "Teaching" a preparatory process is dictated, which, however, relates almost entirely to certain details and formalities. No profession of faith is required, no creed recited, but only the subject is to be baptized in the name of the holy Trinity. As to the mode much more is required, but just what it was is very uncertain. "Living" [running?] water must be used, for which requirement neither authority nor reason is given; but the requirement was not absolute, for other water might be used; and if cold water was not at hand, then warm water would serve, and in the absence of both, [in sufficient quantity,] then it was sufficient if water were poured on the head three times, in the name of the Sacred Persons. The reading of the text, and especially the force of the word *in*, (*ἐν*) seems to imply that the baptized must enter the water of baptism; but whether so that his whole body should be immersed, or only so as to cover his feet, the text does not determine—the ancient *iconographs* favor the latter, and the only thing that seems to be considered indispensable was the threefold affusion upon the head, *into* (*εἰς*) the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In respect to who were or could be subjects of baptism, it has been claimed that the necessary implication is that none but adults could comply with the required conditions, and because nothing is said about any others the inference is that no other subjects were thought of as possible. But, at most, this evidence is only negative, and so leaves room for another conclusion; and as there were no vows to be taken nor creed to be professed, and as it is known that even little children were subjected to fastings in patristic times, the implication referred to is far from being conclusive. No word is said about either the moral or spiritual significance of baptism, though it is named as a prerequisite to uniting in the eucharist, which has a remote glancing at the magical effects of baptism, that afterward become the prevailing belief.

The eucharist—the Lord's Supper of Protestantism—appears

to have been regarded chiefly, as its name suggests, as a service of thanksgiving, not specifically for God's great gift of his Son, but generally for all good things. There is no allusion to either a commemoration or a symbolizing of Christ's death, which not only sweeps away all thought of transubstantiation, but also empties the service of the characteristics for which all grades of orthodox Protestants value the sacred ordinance. The Apostolical Constitutions, in their prescribed order for the administration of this sacrament, are much more in accordance with the modern, and certainly the scriptural, idea; for whatever may be thought of some other things found in them, this whole service, as there set forth, is both more scriptural and evangelical, and incomparably richer than that under notice.

Though very moderately liturgical in comparison with the elaborate forms that were instituted in later times, yet, as compared with what is found in the New Testament, what is contained in the "Teaching" shows no inconsiderable advance in that direction. This may be seen in the prescriptions respecting the forms and conditions to be observed in the administration of the two sacraments, most of which are clearly extra-scriptural, and in some things puerile. Somewhat elaborate prescriptions are also given respecting prayer. Three times a day each one was directed to pray, using the Lord's prayer as given by Matthew, including the doxology, except that "the kingdom" is not named. The presence of this doxology, which is not found in the oldest copies of the New Testament, and is omitted from the Revised Version, indicates the development of liturgical forms in the early Church, which, however, in this case was still incomplete. Somewhat elaborate forms of thanksgiving at the eucharistic feast are given, with the significant permission that the prophets may give thanks as much as they will. The eucharist was to be celebrated every Lord's day, which appears to have been the practice from the beginning, and was to be preceded by the confession of sin, apparently to the whole Church, and if there were "quarrels" between any they must be reconciled.

The closing exhortation brings into notice the well-known fact, that in the early Church the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ was very generally prevalent. The words here

used imply that so imminent was that stupendous event that each one ought to be always expecting its manifestation. Some things in the apostolical epistles seem certainly to favor that view, and with such preconceptions it was easy to interpret our Lord's words in Matthew xxiv, xxv, in the same way. On the face of the words St. Paul seems evidently to have declared the event near at hand, and both he and some others of the apostolic writers use the fact of the early coming of Christ as a motive to diligence and long-suffering on the part of Christians—motives which are readily deduced from the certainty and the nearness of death, to which, however, they seldom definitely refer. But the lapse of eighteen hundred years, without the fulfillment of the expectation, suggests the necessity for reconsidering the whole subject with the aid of the facts of history.

Intimations have occurred that after all this pretended discovery may turn out to be a cheat or a forgery; but the proof of its genuineness as an ancient production, and of its identity with the work of the same name referred to by the fathers of the early Church, scarcely admits of doubt. The quotations made from the "Teaching" still found in the writings of the fathers are identical with what is found in the newly discovered manuscript, and taking these for their guide a company of German scholars a few years ago set about reproducing the original, which was published just about the time that the original was discovered, and the two are found to coincide with remarkable exactness. The manuscript has also been seen and somewhat scrutinized by several trustworthy scholars—among them Dr. Long, of Robert College—and they seem to have had no doubt that the manuscript is really what its discoverer supposed. If genuine, however, its value as an authority is still an open question. It was reckoned as apocryphal by the fathers, and it has internal signs of not being a trustworthy expression of the early Church in its apostolical catholicity, if, indeed, that specific characteristic had been developed at the date of this document, which may be doubted.

For the benefit of our readers who may not have seen a copy of the "Teaching," and that the above remarks may be the better appreciated, we give in the following pages the original text, with a pretty exact translation, of the famous tract.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Διδαχή Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Κεφ. α'. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ
 2 δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν
 3 αὕτη· πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν
 4 πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι
 5 σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει· Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν
 6 αὕτη· Εὐλόγετε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ
 7 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία
 8 γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη
 9 τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισούντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ
 10 ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.
 11 Ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν διαγούνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ
 12 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν,
 13 ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δός αὐτῷ καὶ
 14 τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 15 δύνασαι. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ
 16 θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ
 17 διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἄθῳ γὰρ ἐστὶν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι·
 18 εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἄθῳς ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν
 19 ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος
 20 ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται μέχρις
 21 οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ
 22 εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις
 23 ἂν γνῶς τίμι δῶς.

Κεφ. β'. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς. Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύ-
 2 σεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις,
 3 οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν
 4 ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις,
 5 οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. Οὐκ
 6 ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θάνατος ἡ διγλωσσία.
 7 Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.
 8 Οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ κακοήθης
 9 οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον
 10 σου. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ οὗς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ
 11 δὲ ὧν προσέξῃ, οὗς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations.

CHAPTER I. There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and the difference between the two ways is great.

2 The way of life, then, is this:

3 First, Thou shalt love the God who made thee:

4 Second, Thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thee, do thou, too, not to another.

5 And of these words the Teaching is this: Bless them that
6 curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you; for what thank *have ye* if ye love them that love you? do not the nations also the same? but love ye them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy.

7 Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.

8 If one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one press thee into service for one mile, go with him two; if one take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also; if one take from thee thine own, ask it not back; for not even canst thou.

9 Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask not back; for to all the Father wills that there be given of his own free
10 gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the command-
11 ment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth; for [but] if, indeed, one that hath need receiveth, he shall be guiltless; but he that hath not need, shall submit to trial *with reference* to why he received and for what *purpose*, and, having come into custody, shall be examined with reference to what he did, and shall not go forth thence until he have paid the last farthing.

12 But concerning this, also, it hath been said: Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know to whom to give.

CHAP. II. And *the* second commandment of the Teaching is:

2 Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not use magic arts, thou shalt not practice sorcery, thou shalt not kill a child by abortion nor put it

3 to death when born. Thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not bear a

4 grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for doubleness of tongue is a snare of death. Thy

5 word shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed.

6 Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel

8 against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thy life.

Κεφ. γ'. Τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς
 2 ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν
 φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων
 3 ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής·
 ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ
 ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται.
 4 Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλο-
 λατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαιιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,
 μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεία
 5 γεννᾶται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψευσ-
 μα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τού-
 6 των ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος·
 7 ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρό-
 φρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. Ἴσθι
 8 δὲ πρᾶς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρᾶεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου μακρό-
 θυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων
 9 τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ
 10 δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ
 11 ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. Τὰ
 συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ
 Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Κεφ. δ'. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησ-
 θήσῃ νυκτός καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ
 2 ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ'
 ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.
 3 Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως,
 4 οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. Οὐ διψυχῇσεις,
 5 πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς
 χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου
 6 δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς
 γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.
 7 Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ
 ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοι-
 8 νωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς; Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χειρὰ
 σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος
 9 διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίς-

CHAP. III. My child, flee from every evil *thing*, and from every thing like it.

2 Be not prone to anger, for anger leadeth to murder; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate; for out of all these, murders are begotten.

3 My child, be not one that lusteth, for lust leadeth to fornication; nor of foul speech, nor of leering eyes; for out of all these, adulteries are begotten.

4 My child, be not an augur, since *augury* leadeth to idolatry; nor an enchanter; nor an astrologer; nor a purifier [a concoctor of charms?]; nor be willing to behold these things; for out of all these, idolatry is begotten.

5 My child, be not a liar, since lying leadeth to theft, nor a lover of money, nor vain-glorious; for out of all these, thefts are begotten.

6 My child, be not a murmurer, since *murmuring* leadeth to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded, for out of all these, blasphemies are begotten.

7 But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and quiet and good, and continually trembling at the words which thou hast heard.
8 Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor give assurance to thy soul.
9 Thy soul shall not be joined with lofty *ones*, but with righteous and lowly *ones* shalt thou hold converse.

11 The events that befall thee, thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass without God.

CHAP. IV. My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and shalt honor him as *the* Lord; for where the sovereignty of the Lord is proclaimed, there is *the* Lord.

2 And thou shalt seek out daily the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest upon their words.

3 Thou shalt not be desirous of division, but shalt bring contending *ones* to peace; thou shalt judge righteously; thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions.

4 Thou shalt not hesitate whether *this* shall be or not.

5 Be not *one* that with reference to receiving stretcheth out the hands, but with reference to giving contracteth *them*: thou shalt give by thy hands a ransom, if thou have *it*, for thy sins.

6 Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who is the good Recompenser
7 of the offering. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are partakers [together] in that which is immortal, how much more in the things which are mortal.

8 Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth shalt teach *them* the fear of God.

9 Thou shalt not lay commands in thy bitterness on thy

κη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ
 10 πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσ-
 11 χύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν
 12 τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ
 13 παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν
 14 σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Κεφ. ε'. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων
 2,3 πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακεῖαι, ἀρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία,
 4 αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεῖα· διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψευ-
 6 δος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ
 7 πονηρόν· ὦν μακρὰν πρᾶτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διωκόντες ἀναπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ
 8 καταπονομένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων
 10 ἀνομοὶ κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθεῖητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

Κεφ. ζ'. Ὅρα μὴ τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς,
 2 ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς Θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὄλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνη
 3 τοῦτο ποιεῖ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάσασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεῖα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Κεφ. ζ'. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα
 2 προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ
 3 τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ.
 4 Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς
 5 ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προηρηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ
 τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μᾶς ἢ δύο.

bondman or maid-servant, who hope in the same God, lest perchance they shall not fear the God who is over both; for he cometh not to call according to appearance, but unto those whom
10 the Spirit hath prepared. And ye, the bondmen, shall, in modesty and fear, be subject to your masters as to a type of God.

11 Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and every thing that *is* not pleasing to the Lord.

12 Do not in any wise forsake *the* commandments of *the* Lord; but thou shalt guard what thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom.

13 In *the* church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience.

14 This is the Way of Life.

CHAP. V. And the Way of Death is this:

2, 3 First of all, it is evil and full of curse; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic practices, sorceries,
4 rapines; false testimonies, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness; malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking,
5 jealousy, self-assurance, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of good *men*, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing *the*
6 reward of righteousness, not joined to *any thing* good nor to righteous judgment, watching not with a view to good, but
7 with a view to evil; far from whom *are* meekness and patience, loving vain things, pursuing a requital, not pitying a poor *man*,
8 not toiling for one borne down with toil, not knowing Him that made them; murderers of children, destroyers of God's
9 handiwork; turning away from him that is in want, oppressing him that is afflicted, rich *men's* advocates, poor *men's* lawless judges; utter sinners.

10 May ye be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAP. VI. See that no one cause thee to wander from this Way of the Teaching, since *thus* aloof [away] from God doth he
2 teach thee. For, if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do.

3 And concerning food, brook [abstain from] what thou art able; but of that which is sacrificed to idols beware exceedingly, for it is a worship of dead gods.

CHAP. VII. And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye:

2 Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living
3 water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other
4 water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head, into the
5 name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let the baptizer and the baptized fast, and any others, if they can; and thou shalt command the baptized to fast one or two days before.

Κεφ. η'. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε
 2 τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε·
 3 Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 4 Τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον
 2 περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ
 3 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ
 4 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὡς περ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 5 Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἰρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Κεφ. ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὐ κυτεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
 3 σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφὴν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ
 4 παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ρύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ
 6 ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ
 7 εὐφροσύνη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐλθὲν ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω· μαρνανθά, Ἀμήν.
 8 Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

CHAP. VIII. But let not your fastings be with the hypocrites; for they fast on *the Second Day* of the week and on *the Fifth*; but do ye fast *the Fourth* and Preparation.

2 Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his gospel, thus pray:

3 Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, *so* also on earth. Give us to-day our daily bread, and forgive us our debt as we, too, forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the power and the glory forever.

4 Pray thus three times in the day.

CHAP. IX. And concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks.

First, concerning the cup:

2 We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever.

3 And concerning the broken *bread*:

We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever. Just as this, a broken piece, was scattered upon the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.

5 But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, but those that have been baptized into *the* name of *the* Lord; for concerning this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAP. X. And after being filled, thus give thanks:

2 We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever.

3 Thou, Almighty Sovereign, didst create the universe for thy name's sake; both food and drink thou gavest men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things, we thank thee that

4 thou art mighty; to thee *be* the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in thy love; and do thou gather it from the four winds, the sanctified *Church*, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever.

6 Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the Son of David. If any one is holy, let him come: if any one is not, let him repent: Maranatha. Amen.

8 But permit the prophets to express what thanks they wish.

Κεφ. ια'. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα, τὰ προειρη-
 μένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτός ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκῃ
 ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ
 προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν Κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς
 2 Κύριον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα
 3 τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιήσατε. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ
 4 χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·, τρεῖς δὲ ἔαν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν.
 5 Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰμὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ
 6 ἀλλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Καὶ πάντα
 7 προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε·
 8 πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.
 9 Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ
 10 τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευ-
 11 δοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν
 ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰδὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης
 ἐστί· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ
 12 ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος,
 ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων
 δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ
 13 ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν ὥσαυτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται,
 14 Ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἑτερά τινα, οὐκ
 ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι,
 15 μηδεὶς αὐτόν κρινέτω.

Κεφ. ιβ'. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχθήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ
 δοκιμάσαντες αὐτόν γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀρι-
 2 τεράν. Εἰμὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον
 δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ἡ
 3 ἀνάγκη. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω
 καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν φρονή-
 4 σατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζῆσται χριστιανός. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει
 οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

Κεφ. ιγ'. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
 2 ἀξίός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ Ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός
 3 ἐστὶν ἀξίος καὶ αὐτός ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶσαν
 οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβά-
 4 των λαβὼν δώσεις τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς
 5 ὑμῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. Ἐὰν
 6 σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. Ὡσαύ-
 7 τως κεράμιον οἶνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς

CHAP. XI. Whoever, then, shall come and teach all these things, the things aforesaid, receive him; but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to the destruction of *this*, do not hear him; but *if he teacheth* to the promotion of righteousness and knowledge of *the* Lord, receive him as *the* Lord.

2 And with reference to the apostles and prophets in accordance with the ordinance of the gospel, act thus. And let every apostle that cometh to you be received as *the* Lord; but he shall remain, not one day, [only,] but, if there be need, the next also; but if he remain three *days*, he is a false prophet. And let the apostle, when he goeth forth, take nothing except bread to suffice until he lodge; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet.

5 And no prophet that speaketh in *the* Spirit, shall ye try or judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. Not every one, however, that speaketh in *the* Spirit, is a prophet, but *only* if he have the ways of *the* Lord.

7 From their ways, then, shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And no prophet, that in *the* Spirit commandeth a meal, will eat of it, else he is a false prophet; and every prophet that teacheth the truth, if he doeth not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. And no prophet, approved, true, acting with a view to the world-mystery of the Church, but not teaching *others* to do what he himself doeth, shall be judged in your presence; for with God he hath his judgment;

10 for in like manner did the ancient prophets also. But whoever in *the* Spirit shall say: Give me money, or something else, ye shall not hear him; but if he bid you give for others that are in want, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII. And let every one that cometh in *the* name of *the* Lord be received, and afterward ye shall prove and know him;

2 for ye shall possess understanding right and left. If he that cometh is a traveler, help him as much as you can; however, he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if need be. But if he wisheth to reside with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath not a trade, provide, according to your understanding, that, as a Christian, he shall

4 not live with you idle. But if he doth not wish so to do, he is one that maketh a gain of Christ: beware of such.

CHAP. XIII. But every true prophet that wisheth to reside with you, is worthy of his food. In like manner a true teacher, himself also is worthy of his food, just as the workman.

3 Every first-fruit, then, of *the* products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your high-priests.

4 But if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor.

5 If thou make a baking of bread, take and give the first-fruit according to the commandment. In like manner, on opening a jar of wine or oil, take and give the first-fruit to

τοῖς προφήταις ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν.

Κεφ. ιδ'. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως

2 καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ἦ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὐ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου·

3 'Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμὶ, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Κεφ. ιε'. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γάρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. Μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

2

3 'Ελέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς

4 λαλεῖτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὐ μετανόησῃ. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Κεφ. ις'. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λυχνιοὶ ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθῇτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοὶ· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

2 Ὑπνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν

3 μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνης ὡς

4 υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. Τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατα-

5 θέματος. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωτὸς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη·

6 Ἦξει ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV. And every Lord's Day gather yourselves together, and break bread and give thanks, after having also confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure.

2 But let no one that is at variance, with his fellow assemble
3 with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not
be profaned; For this is the one that was commanded by *the*
Lord: In every place and time, offer Me a pure sacrifice; for I
am a great King, saith *the* Lord, and my name is wonderful
among the nations.

CHAP. XV. Choose, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and free from the love of money, and true and proved; for they, too, render you the
2 service of the prophets and teachers. Do not, then, despise
them; for together with the prophets and teachers, they are
your honored ones.

3 And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye
have *it* in the gospel; and to every one that acteth amiss
against another, let no one speak, and let him not hear from
you until he repent.

4 But your prayers and alms and all deeds so do, as ye have
it in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAP. XVI. Watch for [over] your life; let your lamps not be quenched, and your loins not be loosed, but be ye ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh.

2 And ye shall often be gathered together seeking the things
which become your souls; for the whole time of your faith will
not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time.

3 For in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters
shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves,
and love shall be turned into hate; for as lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate one another, and persecute and betray, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as *the* Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never been done since *the* world began.

4 Then shall the human creation come into the fire of trial, and many shall be caused to stumble and shall perish; But they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself.

5 And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, *the* sign
of an opening in heaven, then *the* sign of the sound of a trumpet, and third, *the* resurrection of the dead; not of all, however, but as was said: The Lord shall come, and all the
6 saints with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming
upon the clouds of heaven.

ART. VII.—THE CATHOLIC DOGMA OF CHURCH
AUTHORITY.

THERE can be no doubt that the popular mind regards the Roman Catholic Church and religion as both degenerate and dangerous. The common people take short cuts to conclusions, always, of course, at the risk of doing injustice, but not seldom reaching right results. They form judgments of the various denominations, (except their own,) not by careful study of their systems of doctrine and government, but from public information and limited personal observation. Thus they describe Presbyterians as predestinarians, Baptists as immersionists, Methodists as revivalists. They think of the Universalists as holding to the salvation of sinner and saint alike, of the Unitarians as robbing Christ of his divinity and religion of its heart, and of the Roman Catholics as worshipping Mary and the saints, putting the pope in the place of Christ, and lodging the power to forgive sin in the priest. The Episcopal Church is to them a Church of forms and ceremonies, claiming closer kinship to the Roman than to the Protestant faith. None of these loose popular definitions would, of course, be acceptable to the denominations to which they are applied. They are inadequate; but they contain, it will be hardly disputed, a core of truth. We Methodists believe in revivals. We believe that our Church was raised up to offer salvation to the people; but our system is much more to us than a series of camp-meetings or special revival efforts. So the popular judgment of Romanism is, doubtless, an injustice in some respects; but that Catholic teaching seems to involve the errors thus attributed to it is not to be denied. The question as to how far that Church is responsible for wrong impressions as to its doctrine and practice is a question to be settled in full view of its aims and claims as a Christian Church. It claims to be holy, apostolic, universal, and united, and aims to embrace all mankind within its pale, outside of which there is no salvation. It also claims to be infallible as a teacher of divine truth. If, therefore, it so presents and teaches and appropriates the doctrines of salvation that the common people outside

its communion derive inferences as to its character which it is not willing to accept, there must be some grave fault in the system, or in the practice or presentation of it. A divine religion intended for all must be adapted to all, and must show its credentials in its life and teaching. But allowance must be made for prejudices of education. These prejudices exist, not alone against the Roman Catholic Church, but against all denominations. They have borne, they still bear, strongly against Methodism. But our place in evangelical Christianity is not misapprehended, and the general character of our teaching is not misunderstood. We may be justly chargeable from other stand-points with putting too much stress on this doctrine or too little on that; but we are not accused of holding views repugnant to the common mind of Christianity or to the word of God. It would be unfair to set up the popular judgment against the philosophical basis of any system. Public opinion is not a competent jury in matters requiring research and scholarship; but it is well qualified to weigh and compare results and make deductions from them. Much weight is therefore to be attached to the common verdict against Romanism.

Those who have studied with candid mind the Roman Catholic system are much slower to pronounce an unqualified judgment against it. It is seen to possess many and important features in common with evangelical Christianity; much that is sound and good with the unsound and the false; and charity inclines to magnify what is favorable and underestimate what is unfavorable. It is hard to reach a strictly impartial result. If the object be to ascertain in how many points the Catholic agrees with the Protestant or scriptural system, or how much it differs, the showing in either case will be formidable, and the real truth will perhaps lie between the two extremes. The difficulty which a scholarly and judicial mind meets in studying the life and teaching of the Church of Rome, is not alone in the effort to hold the balance with blind impartiality, but in ascertaining the real character of the practical teaching in diocese and congregation. Catholic preachers are not in the habit of publishing their discourses. Here and there a distinguished prelate or priest, famed for his eloquence, gives to the Catholic people a volume of sermons; but the list of American

Catholic books will be searched in vain for more than a dozen such publications, most of which are not of the present age, and cannot be taken as representative. The chief reason for this scarcity of modern Catholic sermon literature is, doubtless, to be found in the fact that in Catholic services the sermon holds a very subordinate place. "It may or may not form part of the exercises of public worship," we are told by an eminent authority, "according to the occasion and its attendant circumstances. It is less important, and felt to be so by both clergy and people, than visiting the sick, hearing of confessions, administering the sacraments, (not to speak of the offering up of the holy sacrifice of the mass,) which, more imperative duties, necessarily occupy the larger part of the time of Catholic priests."* Nor is there any theological literature, in the proper sense, for the Catholic layman. There is an abundance of Catechisms for the neophyte, a long list of books of devotion, and a copious Catholic story literature, but theology and theological discussion are in the ecclesiastical tongue and for the priests, who do not generally venture, as is the custom of Protestant ministers, to discuss doctrinal subjects for the benefit of the people. How the body of priests understand and teach Catholic doctrine the inquirer cannot, therefore, from these sources, undertake to show exhaustively. There is such a thing as a consensus of Catholic teaching and practice in every country as shown in the spirit of the Church, in the character of priest and layman, in the attitude toward moral, political, educational, and religious questions, in discussions in the Catholic press, and in other ways, which impress the non-Catholic mind; but there is another line of investigation which lies open to every candid and intelligent mind, and cannot, it would seem, fail to reward the investigator with valuable and trustworthy results. It enters into the heart of the system, and taking up the great dogma of Church authority, shows what its bearings are upon the spirit, character, and teachings of the Church. This is the task now proposed, candidly and conscientiously, to be undertaken.

It must, of course, be conceded that the Church of Rome expresses in its symbols and decrees much of the doctrinal

* "American Catholic Quarterly Review," editorial department, p. 752, October, 1881.

truth of Christianity. The Apostles' Creed, which many Protestants deem a sufficient summary to serve as a test of Christian fellowship, is in constant use in Catholic services. The doctrines of the nature, power, and attributes of God, of the persons of the Trinity, of the fall of man, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the final destiny of saint and sinner, are hardly ground of dispute between Roman and Protestant Christians. There is much more in belief and practice which is held in common, and much on which the differences do not appear irreconcilable; but there is, nevertheless, a chasm between the two systems which refuses to be bridged. They are as different in spirit, character, and results as are the governments and peoples of Russia and those of the United States. Both countries agree in recognizing the truth that mankind needs governing; but as to the source, character, and application of the governing authority they are at wide variance. Catholicism and Protestantism agree that all men are sinners who may and ought to be saved; but as to the method and means of salvation they are hopelessly divided. The Romanist conception of the kingdom of God which Christ came to establish on earth is not that it is an inward life, born of the Holy Spirit and nourished by divine grace, whose outward manifestation is a godly walk and the fellowship of unity;* but rather that it is a visible human organism endowed with the power of producing and controlling a spiritual life. Not only has God put into the hands of the Roman Communion, which comprehends all there is of the glorious kingdom on earth, the work of saving mankind, but he has placed in its keeping and control the treasures of grace,† so that when it chooses to confer its ordinances or to withhold them it confers or withholds

* The great German theologian's idea of the Church is: "The Church first came into existence with Pentecost. . . . Certainly the entire body of disciples had already an outward center in His person, and his design was that the Church should grow out of that body; but such a Church did not as yet exist before the Holy Spirit had prepared and collected a mature discipleship. The Church is called the temple of the Holy Ghost, consisting of living stones, bearing Christ's life in them; that is, personalities."—Dorner's "System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iv, pp. 345, 346.

† "According to Catholics the recognition of and submission to the visible Church is the ordained means of sharing in the invisible treasures of grace."—"Catholic Dictionary," London and New York, 1884, p. 168. This new and important work is severely criticised for its liberal Catholicism.

saving grace. Let us see if this is not a true statement of their teaching.

Baptism as one of the ordinances committed to the one true Church, the Church of Rome,* is "necessary for all."† It "is as essential for the infant as for the full-grown man, in order to attain the kingdom of heaven."‡ The only exceptions admitted are when an unbaptized person has a desire without opportunity for the ordinance, which is the baptism of desire, or lays down his life for Christ, which is the baptism of blood.§ Obviously, infants are not included in either of these classes. To them God cannot extend his grace, because the ministry of the Church has not reached them. "Is not that," Archbishop Gibbons asks, "a cruel and heartless doctrine which excludes from heaven so many harmless babes that have never committed any fault? To this I reply, Has not God declared that baptism is necessary to all?" The Council of Trent in Canon VII pronounces its *anathema sit* against all those who say that "grace, as far as God's part is concerned, is not given through the said sacraments *always and to all men*, [my italics] even though they receive them rightly, but only sometimes and to some persons."|| The previous canon lays down the doctrine that the sacraments are not simply outward signs of grace received through faith, but confer the grace they signify on all persons "who do not place an obstacle thereunto;" while Canon VIII *anathematizes* those who deny that grace is "conferred through the act

* "Butler's Catechism," as "revised by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland," pp. 22-24.

† Chapter IV of the Canons of Trent says that the change from death to life, "since the promulgation of the Gospel, cannot be effected without the laver of regeneration or the desire thereof."—Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 91. "Butler's Catechism" also says:

"Q. Is baptism necessary to salvation?

"A. Yes; without it one cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

"Q. Who are appointed by Christ to give baptism?

"A. The pastors of his Church; but in case of necessity any layman or woman can give it."—P. 46.

‡ "The Faith of our Fathers." By Archbishop Gibbons. John Murphy & Co., Baltimore. 1884. P. 311.

§ Cyprian held, however, that martyrdom outside the Church is not only not meritorious, but rather an aggravation of sin. Hagenbach, vol. i, p. 275.

|| "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 121.

performed." Pope Eugenius IV. held that the sacraments are effected by the things which stand for the matter, by the words which stand for the form, and by the person of the minister, and that if "any one of these three things be wanting, there is no sacrament."* Having by divine authority been invested with the exclusive power of granting the sacraments by which alone the soul can make its way to heaven, it follows that the Church of Rome, as the only true Church on earth, has in its hands the eternal destiny of all mankind.†

The dogma of the supreme authority of the Church is the key to the Catholic system and the cause of its wide variance from the faith and spirit of the Gospel. It would, as every intelligent mind must admit, avail a sinful world but little if Christ had accomplished the work of atonement at the cost of his incarnation, sufferings, and death, and had placed its benefits in the keeping of a power that might withhold or confer them according to a fallible will and an imperfect understanding on its own code of conditions to the recipient. He did, indeed, indicate a prerequisite to the enjoyment of these benefits—a desire to be saved—but he did not commit to fallible human judgment the prerogative of deciding when and to whom the regenerating grace should be imparted. This dogma was of gradual growth. It began with the assumptions of the bishop, developed along with the papacy unto its present tremendous proportions, and has struck its rootlets into every particle of Catholic theological soil. It will be necessary to get a full understanding of its scope and bearings in order to proceed to the accomplishment of the purpose sought in this article. Moehler, who was a very moderate Catholic, and who was criticised for his concessions, gives this definition of the Church:

By the Church on earth Catholics understand the visible community of believers founded by Christ, in which, by means of

* "Catholic Dictionary," p. 736.

† "*Professio Fidei Tridentine.*" The "Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved." *Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.* "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 210. Also Cardinal Newman in "Answer to Gladstone," p. 159. "No Catholic ever thinks of disputing" the dogma that "out of the Catholic Church and out of the faith there is no salvation." All the popes, bishops, and doctors, he adds, have proclaimed it. Pius IX. excepted, however, those who "lie under invincible ignorance."

an enduring apostleship established by him, and appointed to conduct all nations, in the course of the ages, back to God, the works wrought by him during his earthly life for the redemption and sanctification of mankind are, under the guidance of his Spirit, continued to the end of the world.*

He goes on to show that as God, in planning the redemptive work, chose to send his Word in incarnate, visible form to men, so the doctrine which that Incarnate Word established needed a visible, human medium to declare it; hence the organization of the Church in which Christ continues to live and his Spirit to work. "Thus the visible Church, from the point of view here taken, is the Son of God himself, everlastingly manifesting himself among men in a human form." And as he represented in himself both divinity and humanity, so also is his Church both human and divine; but if the divine "constitute undoubtedly that which is infallible and eternally inerrable in the Church, so also the human is infallible and inerrable in the same way."† The "administration of the sacraments, as well as the preaching of the Word, was intrusted by the Lord to the apostolic college, and to those commissioned by it, so that all believers by means of this apostolic college are linked to the community, and in a living manner connected with it."

The Church, in the Catholic point of view, can as little fail in the pure preservation of the Word as in any other part of her task; she is infallible. As the individual worshiper of Christ is incorporated into the Church by indissoluble bonds, and is by the same conducted unto the Saviour, and abideth in him only in so far as he abideth in the Church, his faith and his conduct are determined by the latter. He must bestow his whole confidence on her; and she must therefore merit the same. ‡

It is therefore necessary, he continues, that she should be inerrable. "To no individual, considered as such, doth infallibility belong," for the individual is only a member of the whole, "living and breathing in the Church. When his feelings, thought, and will are conformable to her spirit, then only can the individual attain to inerrability." If Christ is to be a "true determining authority," the "authority of the Church is necessary," and "Christ himself is only in so far an authority

* "Moehler's 'Symbolism.'" New York: Catholic Publication House. Third edition, p. 253

† *Ibid.*, p. 254.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

as the Church is an authority." "If the Church be not the authority representing Christ, then all again relapses into darkness, uncertainty, doubt, distraction, unbelief, and superstition; revelation becomes null and void, fails of its real purpose, and must henceforth be even called in question, and finally denied."

The Catholic doctrine of the Church, then, is:

1. It is infallible and inerrant.
2. It is infallible and inerrant in both its divine and human elements.
3. It has all ecclesiastical and spiritual power in earth.*
4. God deals with mankind through it alone, and Christ is authority only in so far as it is authority.
5. The believer can abide in Christ only in so far as Christ abides in the Church.
6. The faith and conduct of the believer are determined by the Church.
7. Without the authority of the Church revelation is null and void.
8. This divine, infallible, inerrant, universal, and perpetual authority is the Church of Rome.†
9. Those not subject to the pope, the head of the Church of Rome, are not in the Church of Christ.‡

* The Church is vested *jure divino* with power to make laws, to define and apply them, to punish those who violate them. The punishments inflicted by the Church in exercising her coercive power are chiefly spiritual, namely—excommunication, suspension, and interdict, but she can "inflict temporal, and even corporal, punishments." Thus, according to Cardinal Tarquini, the pope and ecumenical councils have the power to inflict the death penalty, at least by requiring a Catholic ruler to impose it; and "that they cannot directly exercise this power cannot be proved." "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law." By S. B. Smith, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1883, p. 89. This volume was revised under the direction of Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and approved by Cardinal M'Closkey and a great number of prelates.

† "We must either give up the belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it as that communion of which the pope is the head."—Newman, in "Answer to Gladstone" p. 34.

‡ "We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."—Pope Boniface VIII., in *Unam Sanctum*, which bull Cardinal Manning says was undoubtedly an infallible utterance. See Manning's "Vatican Decrees." New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1875, p. 57. Cardinal Newman, in "Answer to Gladstone," p. 35, says: "We should not believe in the Church at all unless we believed in its visible head."

But how is this infallibility and inerrancy and authority to be manifested? By the teaching power of the Church. First, in the pope, as the head of the visible, infallible, and inerrant Church, "who has no rival in his claim upon" the faithful.* "As God has sovereignty, though he may be disowned or disobeyed, so has his vicar on earth."† The primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church of God was directly given by Christ to Peter, who "received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . and lives, presides, and judges to this day and always, in his successors, the Bishop of the Holy See of Rome." "When in the discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals,"‡ he is infallible; and both "pastors and faithful, individually and collectively, are bound . . . to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church," and from this "no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation."§ Second, in the pope and the bishops throughout the world, who, "in the ordinary performance of their duty and without formally concerting together, may teach [infallibly] certain truths to the body of the Church as of divine faith."|| The bishops are divinely instituted, and are collectively the successors of the college of the apostles and to their governing power. They belong to the divine and unalterable constitution of the Church.¶ Third, this authority of the Church is exercised through the priest who has power to confer regenerating grace,** to forgive sins,†† and to change bread and wine

* Cardinal Newman, "Answer to Gladstone," p. 52. Also "Catholic Dictionary." "None who are not in communion with him are Catholics at all."—P. 177.

† *Ibid.*, p. 49.

‡ There is also an infallibility exercised in condemning erroneous books or doctrine, and in the canonization of saints. "Catholic Dictionary," p. 178.

§ "Vatican Decrees." See Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," pp. 256-271.

|| "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

** "He has empowered the priests of the New Law to impart the grace of regeneration in baptism." They are "the dispensers of his graces and the almoners of his mercy."—"The Faith of our Fathers," pp. 443, 444.

†† "To them also he gave power to forgive sins." They "can release the soul from the prison of sin and restore it to the liberty of a child of God."—*Ibid.*, p. 444. "As judge of souls, he must know when to bind and when to loose; when to defer and when to pronounce sentence of absolution."—P. 450.

into the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.* He, as successor of the apostles, "is clothed with their power," and "exercises power not given even to angels."† This would seem to imply that he is infallible also, though this is not directly claimed for him. But infallibility, according to some authorities, goes below the priest. The "faithful cannot err in what they believe, because the same Holy Spirit which enables them to believe what their pastors teach provides that these pastors shall teach the truth with unerring voice."‡ This is a logical conclusion, whether it has been defined by the Church or not.

The claims and authority of the Church being so sweeping, it follows logically that all men must obey her voice, and this is the Catholic doctrine. Cardinal Manning says the command of Christ to the apostles—"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature"—"clearly invests the Church with authority to baptize every creature," though this "absolute and universal authority" "depends upon the free and voluntary act of those who believe."§ Christ not only gave this power to his apostles, but he commanded, "under the most severe penalties, those to whom they preach to listen and obey." Their hearers, therefore, "are obliged to listen with docility, and to obey, not merely by external compliance, but also by an internal assent of the intellect."||

Such is the doctrine of the authority of the Church of Rome. It is a vast and awful absolutism, not only proposing to strip all mankind of liberty of conscience, intellect, and

* Christ is "bid, morning by morning, by their word, to be present upon the altar." "The Eternal Priesthood." By Cardinal Manning. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1883, p. 21. Also "Butler's Catechism," p. 49:

"Q. By whom are the bread and wine changed into the body and blood of Christ?

"A. By the priest; but in virtue of the words of Christ, whose person the priest represents at the awful moment of consecration."

† "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 441.

‡ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177. § "The Vatican Decrees," p. 80.

|| "The Faith of our Fathers," pp. 88, 89. Also "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," p. 81. "Now every person in the world is bound to obey the Church in matters pertaining to the *sanctificatio animarum*." Mgr. Capel, in the "Nineteenth Century" for April, 1880, says: "To doubt willfully any one article of faith, or to enter on the examination of any dogma with the intention of suspending belief until the conclusion of such examination, would be for a Catholic a deadly sin."

worship, but even presuming to rob God in heaven of his prerogatives in the salvation of men. Its claim of infallibility and authority is only a blasphemous invention; its pretended power to confer the grace of regeneration and to forgive sin is a wicked usurpation of divine authority,* its worship of bread and wine and its prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints are idolatry; † and its pretense that the *ecclesia docens* cannot teach error in faith or morals involves the awful assumption that sinful men are equal to God in some of his attributes.

Such a system seems far enough from the true religion of Christ and the teaching and spirit of the New Testament. And yet it claims to be in entire accord with the Scriptures as infallibly interpreted, though it was not founded thereon, ‡ but by Christ and his apostles before the gospels were committed to writing, in order that there might be an authority to decide, without possibility of error, what Scripture is divinely inspired, and what is the true interpretation thereof. There is in this, and indeed in most of the doctrines held by the Church of Rome, a germ of truth. There was a Christian community before there was a written word. The apostles built on the spoken word, and, by divine guidance, gave it to the world in the gospels and epistles; but what does not appear is that to this community as an ecclesiastical organism was given supreme and infallible authority to perpetuate the spoken, and to define and distinguish the written, word.§ The Acts and the epistles do not indicate a sacramental and sacerdotal ecclesiasticism; nor does the recently discovered sub-apostolic document, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," give it any support. On the

* Father Curci, who is still a Roman priest, in his "*Il Vaticano Regio*," (1883.) asks the Church "to replace Jesus Christ in the chief place which belongs to him in the conscience, the love, and the hopes of the Christian peoples." He laments the neglect of the Redeemer in Roman Catholic preaching and teaching, and the multiplication of "new saints, new madonnas, new miracles, and new revelations," and declares that "if this overwhelming number of saints and madonnas is to obliterate Jesus Christ" from his mind, then he will thrust them from him and "cling only to Jesus." See "*British Quarterly Review*," for April, 1884.

† The attributing of a "divine nature to purely human things" is "idolatry."—*Ibid.*

‡ The Church was "not founded by Holy Writ, but already existed before its several parts appeared."—Moehler's "*Symbolism*," p. 290.

§ It is pretended that the apostles transmitted the canon of Scripture, as defined by the Council of Trent, to the Church, which preserved it by tradition and infallibly declared it. "*Symbolism*," p. 287.

contrary, it shows that down to the close of the first century or the first third of the second century there was nothing in the nature of a hierarchy, no priestly office or prerogative, and no sacramentalism. The Roman doctrine of Church authority developed in a later age* with the evolution, from the simplicity of apostolic usages, of a hierarchy, and is like a pyramid standing on its apex, the last and largest deposit on the upturned base being papal infallibility.†

The whole Roman system is a logical necessity of this dogma of authority, which became dominant when councils began to enforce their decrees with the damnatory phrase, "*Anathema sit.*" One of the earliest necessities which this developing principle of absolutism imposed on the Church was the control of the text, the interpretation, and the use of the Bible. The free and independent study of the Bible, even by the priesthood, would have led to doubt and defection, and if appeal to the Book whose author is God, as the Church itself taught, had been allowed, a higher authority than the Church would have been recognized. The exaltation of tradition was a powerful means of supporting the Church's claim. To take the position that the Bible was only a part of God's revelation, that the unwritten part was of equal if not greater importance,‡ and that this deposit of faith was solely with the Church, was part of her consciousness,§ and could therefore only be known

* Dr. Edwin Hatch, Bampton lecturer in 1880, on "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," in an article in the June (1884) "Contemporary Review," discussing the claim of the Anglican sacerdotal party that they are reviving the pre-Constantinian Church, says if this could be done fully, not only would the Church of England lose its wealth, its crown provinces, and its lay tribunals, "it would cease to be a single body, and would be only a mass of congregations which might or might not agree to act together; it would have neither parishes nor provinces nor metropolitans; it would have no common rules of discipline, nor common order of ritual; and, what is far more important, not having any common formula of belief, the officers of its communities would have to meet again in assembly, as the officers of the communities of the fourth century met at Nicæa, to agree upon a creed."

† "It would of course be a monstrous anachronism were we to attribute a belief in papal infallibility to the ante-Nicene fathers. Our contention simply is that the *modern* doctrine on papal power is the logical outcome of patristic principles."—"Catholic Dictionary," p. 674.

‡ Catholics affirm an "unwritten word of God over and above Scripture."—"Catholic Dictionary," p. 80.

§ "Symbolism," p. 286, 287.

as the Church authoritatively imparted it—was to place in the way of independent investigation an insuperable difficulty. The Bible must not be put in general circulation. This was not the doctrine of the fathers,* but it occurred to the popes of the Middle Ages that the Waldensian and other rebellions against the authority of the Church were caused by the study of the Bible and they laid interdicts against it.† “It is only surprising,” a Catholic authority‡ naïvely tells us, “that any rational being could have thought it possible for the Holy See to assume any other attitude.”

The denial of the Bible to the laity involves the proposition, that it is not necessary for them to read the word of God. Pope Clement XI. condemned the notion that the “reading of Scripture is for all,”§ and numerous authorities, even as late as the “Catholic Dictionary,” support his view. “Butler’s Catechism” says the clergy are required to read the Scriptures, “but there is no such general obligation incumbent on the laity, it being sufficient that they listen to it from their pastors.” In answer to the question whether it is “lawful for the laity to read the Holy Scriptures,” it says:

They may read them in the language in which they were written, as likewise in the ancient Vulgate Translation, which the Church vouches to be authentic. They may also read them in approved modern versions; but with due submission to the interpretation and authority of the Church.

“Numberless heresies and impieties,” it goes on to say, “as also many rebellions and civil wars,” have resulted from “an unrestricted reading of the Bible in the vulgar languages, by the unlearned and the unstable.” Archbishop Gibbons boldly declares that Christ did not intend the Bible to be disseminated, but that the Gospel should be promulgated by preaching

* “In early times the Bible was read freely by the lay people, and the fathers constantly encouraged them to do so, although they also insist on the obscurity of the text. No prohibitions were issued against the popular reading of the Bible.” —“Catholic Dictionary,” p. 82.

† “The Councils of Toulouse (1229) and Tarragona (1234) forbade the laity to read the vernacular translations of the Bible. Pius IV. required the bishops to refuse lay persons leave to read even Catholic versions,” and Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Pius IX. in the present century, have warned Catholics against Protestant Bibles.—*Ibid.*

‡ “Catholic Dictionary,” p. 82.

§ *Ibid.*

alone.* He also holds, in common with other Catholic doctors, that the Bible "does not contain all the truths necessary to salvation."†

How completely the word of God is subordinated to the authority of the Church, is indicated by the remark of Augustine: "I would not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move me thereto." According to Moehler,‡ Catholic theologians hold "that even a scriptural proof in favor of a decree held to be infallible is not itself infallible, but only the dogma as defined," by which he means that only what the Church definitely declares infallible is so to be held, that is, the Church's sense of Scripture. The Church alone, therefore, can interpret Scripture: "No one can appeal either to Scripture or to history against her definition without making shipwreck of the faith and forfeiting the name of Catholic by the very act."§ No intellectual or historical difficulty is to prevent the acceptance of the Church's definition. When she declares the dogma of the Immaculate Conception every Catholic is bound, not only to accept it,|| but to believe that it was revealed to the apostles and "preserved in the deposit of faith, as contained in Scripture and tradition."¶

Such is the bearing of the dogma of Church authority on the word of God. A human institution subordinates to its fallible judgment the infallible revelation of the Lord Almighty. The divine light, which shines clear and free from the pages of Holy Writ direct to the waiting individual heart, Rome dares to intercept and transmit through an imperfect medium which distorts its rays and quenches their illuminating power and makes them fallible and false. Can it for a moment be regarded as reasonable, or possible, that God should give, through divine inspiration, the law of life and death, and not intend that every soul should have free access to it? Were

* "Faith of our Fathers," p. 101, also index.

† *Ibid.*, p. 111.

‡ "Symbolism," p. 290.

§ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 178.

|| "We cannot be real Catholics if we do not, from our heart, accept the matters which she [the Church] puts forward as divine and true."—Cardinal Newman, in "Nineteenth Century," for Feb., 1884.

¶ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177. Alzog ("Church History," Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1874, vol. i, p. 362,) says: "Tradition, being the only *adequate exponent of the doctrine of Christ*, [his italics,] is, therefore, the only competent and legitimate interpreter of the Scriptures."

Christ's words addressed to a hierarchy, and not to universal humanity? Could the common people who heard him gladly understand nothing of his words? Is the Gospel, which was meant to be "good tidings" to all, addressed only to the understanding of learned ecclesiastics? These questions can be answered affirmatively only by changing the character of the Bible, robbing it of its simplicity as a revelation, and reading into its text thoughts which God never inspired. The truths of the Bible comes as a bright light into the sin-darkened soul, and can be as certainly appreciated and enjoyed as the light of the sun. "The argument to the contrary," says Dr. Hodge,* "is an insult to the understanding of the whole world of Bible readers."

On the basis of its authority over the Scriptures and over the faith of believers, the Church assumes to bar the way to salvation, except on the conditions which it lays down. How terrible from the Catholic point of view the interdicts which the infallible popes so frequently laid on whole nations, shutting them out of heaven and permitting them, despite their cry for the saving ordinances of the Church, to be swept into hell, because of the crime or contumacy of prince or king! It puts its own construction on the doctrines of grace, and claims that God has committed the means of grace to its custody, and cannot, or does not, regenerate, sanctify, and save, except through its ministry. The only door into the Church is by baptism, the only way to heaven is by the Church. This ordinance is the visible means of an invisible regeneration, and remits all sin, original and actual, and all penalties due for sin, "bestows sanctifying grace and infused virtues," imprints an indelible mark or character on the soul, and makes the recipient a member of Christ.† This result must invariably follow in infants who cannot put a bar in the way of sacramental grace: and all adults receive the "character" if they simply submit to the ordinance, even without attrition for sin, and may subsequently receive all the graces by supplying "the requisite dispositions."‡ No one who studies the Scriptures, free from the shackles of Church authority and constrained interpretation, finds such a doctrine of regeneration taught in them. We do not read that Christ said, "Come unto the *visible Church*, all ye that labor

* "Outlines of Theology." New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1879, p. 86.

† "Catholic Dictionary," p. 62.

‡ *Ibid.*

and are heavy laden, and ye shall find rest *in the ordinance of baptism*;" nor "All that the Father giveth me shall come to *the Church*; and him that cometh unto *the Church* shall not be cast out;" nor "Ask of *the Church*, and it shall be given you;" nor "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and *receiveth the baptism at the hands of the Church*," etc. Nor do we read in Acts that "Whosoever shall *receive the baptism of the Church* shall be saved." The reply of Catholic theologians to this would doubtless be, in the words of Moehler, (quoted on page 725,) that the "visible Church is the Son of God himself." By such ingenious methods do they make the garment of Church authority cover all difficulties and doubts.

The believer having entered on the Christian life by baptismal regeneration must, the Church teaches, prepare for the sacrament of confirmation, which can only be imparted by the bishop, and which, worthily received, that is, by those not in a state of mortal sin, "makes strong and perfect Christians." The Church has also instituted the sacrament of penance, by which the priest forgives the sins committed after baptism, whether they be mortal or venial. The individual makes confession to the priest of all his sins, and the latter as a "judge whose office it is to pass sentence of pardon,"* imposes certain exercises or good offices as a satisfaction for them. This penance enjoined by the priest, who can "discern between sin and sin," having for this purpose the "science of God," of the saints, and of self-knowledge,† may not always be sufficient to satisfy for the sins committed, wherefore what is "wanting may be supplied by indulgences and our own penitential endeavors," which "release from canonical penance" enjoined by the Church, and "also remit the temporary punishments with which God often visits our sins, and which must be suffered in this life or the next, unless canceled by indulgences, by act of penance, or other good works."‡ Of the other sacraments, except the eucharist, it is not necessary to speak.

* "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 445. Cardinal Manning (in "The Eternal Priesthood") says: "Each bishop, in his throne surrounded by his priests, judicially binding or loosing the souls of men, by the power of the keys, is the judge of arbitration to avert the judgment of the last day."—P. 31.

† "The Eternal Priesthood," p. 31.

‡ "Butler's Catechism," p. 53.

Suffice it to say, that they are intended to provide all needful graces in life, the priest or the bishop being the indispensable instrument. It is not needful to show, even to a cursory reader of the Scriptures, how little in harmony all this is with God's teaching. "If we confess our sins, he [Christ, not the priest] is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."* But, it may be asked, does not the Catholic Church admit that private confession is permissible? Archbishop Gibbons says:

Forgiveness of sin is ordinarily to be obtained only through the ministry of the apostles and their successors, just as it was from them that the people were to receive the word of God and baptism. The pardoning power was a great prerogative conferred on the apostles. But what kind of a prerogative would it be if people could always obtain forgiveness by confessing to God secretly in their rooms? How few would have recourse to the apostles if they could obtain forgiveness on easier terms!†

The doctrine of the mass is another perversion of scriptural teaching and a necessity of the dogma of Church authority. No other feature of the Roman system is better understood than this, and I need not stop to explain it. It is held to confer grace in common with the other sacraments, *ex opere operato*. In effect it is a species of idolatry, supreme adoration being paid to a circular piece of bread under the delusion that it is Christ, that it becomes so at the command of the celebrant, and that it must ever remain so. This monstrous idea leads to the observance of minute rules with regard to the handling and reception of the bread and wine, which seem, to the really reverent, shocking in their gross significance, and a degradation of a spiritual ‡ act of deep import.§ Christ said as oft as ye do this do it in *remembrance* of me; but Catholics

* 1 John i, 9.

† "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 392.

‡ Canon VIII of the Council of Trent says: "If any one saith that Christ, given in the eucharist, is eaten spiritually only, and not also sacramentally and really, let him be anathema."

§ The "Short Catechism," Baltimore, tells the communicant how to hold the mouth and lips, and adds: "We should not be disturbed if the host adhere to the palate, but should endeavor to loosen it gently with the tongue, and by no means to touch it with our fingers. It is also proper not to spit for some minutes after communion." The Roman missal tells what is to be done in case the Lord's Supper is disgorged.

offer it as a sacrifice to God. Their catechisms speak of it as "continuing the bloody sacrifice of the cross," offered, among other reasons, in "order to obtain pardon for our sins," and the Canons of Trent are most explicit on this point. They deny that it is simply a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a commemoration of the sacrifice on the cross, and assert that it is a "propitiatory sacrifice," to be offered for the living and for the dead, "for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful." This affects in a very important way the great doctrine of the atonement, which, soteriologically, is set forth both in Protestant and Catholic symbols without essential differences. But the Catholic doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass and of penance implies—nay, it logically compels—the belief that the sacrifice of the cross was an incomplete atonement. Moehler's discussion * of this subject comprehends Christ's ministry, sufferings, and "perpetual condescension" in the eucharist in one great sacrificial act in expiation of our sins, "consisting, indeed, of various individual parts; yet so that none by itself is, strictly speaking, the sacrifice." Therefore without the sacrifice of the mass "the other parts would not have sufficed for our complete atonement." Nevertheless, the sacrifice of the cross yields, as they hold, a superabundance of merits which constitute a treasury whose riches are available to the Church, and which is increased by the supererogatory works of the saints and others of the faithful. Human ingenuity cannot go farther, nor could it more signally defeat itself. Holy Writ leaves no possible doubt that the sacrifice of the cross, "once offered," cannot and hath no need to be repeated, "for by one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified," and "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." † The dogma of the authority of the Church, however, requires such perversions of truth to establish and maintain its tyranny over conscience. If the Church admitted that grace could be obtained except through its channels, or that the atonement made for all mankind was so far completed on Calvary that all, without the Church's sacrifice and agency, are free to embrace its benefits, it would not, indeed, make itself unnecessary, but it would abdicate its claim to supreme and exclusive authority.

* "Symbolism," p. 232.

† Hebrews x, 14, 26.

There is much to be commended in the zeal which Catholics show in devotion. They are exhorted to meditation and prayer at all hours and in all places, and nothing is more common than the use of the beads and other aids to devotion. The Catholic, however, does not hold that prayer is either the chief act of worship or the chief means of grace. The "one worship really worthy of him [God] is the sacrifice of the mass,"* and "the sacraments are the most powerful means of grace."† But we will not dwell on this error, which not a few nominal Protestants accept as truth. It is far more important to consider how generally prayer has become in Catholic usage a machine performance, and how small a proportion of it is addressed directly to God. Prayer is among the good works enjoined in penance, and often among the conditions on which indulgences are granted. The saying of the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary, or prayer to the Virgin, a certain number of times constitutes an act of piety with merits attached. The rosary, which is intended to be to the faithful what the breviary is to the priesthood, is an incontestable proof of the value attached to the "saying" of these prayers in repetition. For every ten small beads on a rosary there is one large bead, and for every bead there is a prayer: the "Hail Mary" for each small bead, and the Lord's Prayer for each large one. Every full rosary means a hundred and fifty repetitions of the prayer to the Virgin, and fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer. In how many cases such performances are "vain repetitions," which our Lord condemned, it is not necessary or desirable to inquire; but the tendency of the teaching that God is pleased and real merits are acquired thereby must be to degrade the highest and holiest form of spiritual communion with God to a formal, mechanical exercise. "True worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him."‡ This degradation of the lofty spirit and character of prayer is made painfully evident in the manuals and devotional books which fill so large a place in Catholic literature. There are books of devotion to St. Joseph, to the Blessed Virgin, to the "Holy Face;" and manuals of the "Holy Name," the "Immaculate Heart of Mary," "Our Lady of Perpetual Help," the "Sacred Heart,"

* "Catholic Dict.," p. 175.

† "Butler's Catechism," p. 45.

‡ John iv, 23.

the "Child Jesus," the "Holy Angels," of the "Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst and Agony of Jesus," of "Our Lady of Lourdes," and so on. The grossest conceptions would appear to underlie such forms of devotion. The natural tendency of the mind is toward the material, and when the spiritualizing teachings of the Scriptures are denied their legitimate effects, and mere objects of sense are exalted, there must follow a lowering of the spiritual tone of worship. It is not strange that the mind which has been trained in this school of devotion should have an inclination to add to the objects of its worship. God is represented as a spirit, to be worshiped as a spirit in spirit and in truth. Minds accustomed to a low plane of spiritual worship crave mediators through whom they may approach the awful majesty of the Lord Almighty, and whose powerful influence may plead for them. It was this which caused the famous treatise on the "Celestial Hierarchy," purporting to be the work of a disciple of St. Paul, to be received with so much favor in the Middle Ages.* Below the Primal Deity it put three descending triads, the lowest in power and glory being nearest man, and the highest nearest God. It is this which delights to honor the saints and the angels, and to seek their powerful intercession. Catholics claim to observe distinctions in the worship which they pay to celestial beings. The highest, *latria*, is paid to God alone, as in the adoration of the host in the mass; the lowest, *dulia*, is paid to saints and angels; while the transcendent merits of the Blessed Virgin are honored by *hyperdulia*. We will not stop to inquire how accurately the masses of worshipers may be able in practice to observe these distinctions. It is enough that prayers are offered which are not addressed to the triune God. We have seen that the prayer to the Virgin comes on the rosary ten times where the Lord's Prayer comes once, and it always follows the latter, says "Butler's Catechism," in order that "by her intercession we may more easily obtain what we ask for in the Lord's Prayer." In the "*confiteor*" which all the faithful use constantly, confession is made to "Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to all saints;" and the Virgin, the Baptist, the

* See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. viii, pp. 190-196.

archangel, and the apostles and saints are besought to pray to the Lord on behalf of the suppliant; and a prayer, recommended for use in the "Short Catechism," begs the patronage of the Virgin and asks her to "deliver us from all dangers." No one can deny that it is lawful to pray to saints without incurring the "anathema" of the Church. She whose boast is *semper eadem* has put the stamp of her authority on this shocking doctrine and made it a perpetual error.

The scope of this article permits but one more example of the grave errors which the dogma of Church authority involves. If the Church cannot err in matters of faith and morals, and all men must listen to her voice, and submit to her authority in order to be saved, the faithful can and must put their consciences to rest as to her teachings. If the believer yields implicit obedience, believing what she tells him to believe as truth, denying what she tells him to deny as error, his conscience must be held to be guiltless. The Church assumes for him all responsibility of ascertaining all religious and moral truth necessary for him to know. His conscience is only bound to unquestioning acceptance and implicit obedience. He sees that holiness is inherent in the Church as an institution,* and that by becoming a faithful member he becomes a partaker of that holiness. The Church furnishes a spiritual judge to examine his conscience, to grant him remission, to impose penance, and, in short, to take in charge the welfare of his soul. With an infallible pope and council to define truth, and a plenipotentiary priesthood to impart it and confer the divine graces necessary to salvation, there is sufficient reason for a settled conscience and no motive to sin against the Church and against God by doubt.

He who would be a good Catholic, therefore, cannot be an independent investigator of religious truth. We have quoted, on another page, a statement of Mgr. Capel, which reflects the

* This doctrine would repay, if there were space for it, a careful examination. Consider it, for example, in connection with this admission by Moehler: "Doubtless examples enough can be alleged of priests, bishops, and popes who in the most unconscionable and unjustifiable manner have failed to discharge their duty when it was quite in their power to bring about a reform in morals, or who by their own scandalous conduct and lives have extinguished the still glimmering torch which they ought to have kindled. Hell hath swallowed them up."—"Symbolism," p. 270.

teaching of the Church in these words: "To doubt willfully any one article of faith, or to enter on the examination of any dogma with the intention of suspending belief until the conclusion of such examination, would be for a Catholic a deadly sin." The atmosphere of our free America has made this a difficulty, even for Catholics. An Englishman, writing for a Catholic periodical * his impressions of American Catholicism, mentions the independence of the American character as "prejudicial to Catholicity." "American notions" have to be set aside in Church matters. This the American "resents," and his "independence of mind has a tendency to force its way into a sphere where independence is inadmissible."

I cannot forbear to put over against this doctrine, which obstructs God's revelation, bars human progress, and seals up all truth, a few sentences by that Samson of the Reformation who broke loose from this bondage and freed the world, Martin Luther:

When Christ calls upon his people to beware of false prophets he recognizes not the right of the pope or the councils, but that of all Christians, to decide upon doctrine. . . . No one can command the soul unless he knows how to direct its way to heaven. This no man can do but God alone. Therefore in matters that concern the salvation of the soul nothing but the word of God is to be taught and received. . . . Every man believes as he believes at his own peril, and must see to it that his faith be right. For as little as another can descend into hell or ascend into heaven for me, so little can he believe or not believe for me. †

There have been some pitiable cases of submission to error where there was knowledge of the truth, because the authority of the Church permitted no alternative. What words could indicate more abject dependence than these: "The pope has no rival in his claims upon us. . . . If we give him up, to whom shall we go? Can I put my soul into the hands of our gracious sovereign, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury?" ‡ This is not the utterance of an ignorant slave, but of the most brilliant mind of the Roman Catholic Church, John Henry Newman, Cardinal.

* "The Month," vol. xxxii, pp. 357-373.

† Sprecher's "Groundwork of Lutheran Theology," 1879, pp. 87, 88.

‡ "Answer to Gladstone," p. 52.

ART. VIII.—BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

Biblical Hermeneutics. A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. By MILTON S. TERRY, S. T. D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

THE position of the Bible in the history of the world is unique. It belongs to no one age. It is the property of no one nation. It is pre-eminently "The Book for all Times and for all Peoples." It has been translated into most of the languages of this many-tongued earth, and no sooner does it become known than it lays a spell on the people, attracting many readers, and completely changing the current of their thought and the character of their lives. This book never grows old. The most "advanced thought" never leaves it behind. It is as fully adapted to the people of the nineteenth century as to those who handled with reverence the papyrus or the parchment on which the first editions of its various parts were written. The study of its pages has given birth to thousands of volumes in the past. Many of those volumes are ranked among the choicest treasures of earth's literature to-day. The publication of Dr. Terry's work is convincing demonstration that the interest in the study of the book has not abated.

What is the secret of this lasting interest in this book? It contains some of the most ancient records of our race. No writer can treat on the early history of man without referring to its pages. Of all ancient documents its statements are the most reliable. On many of the things related we have no light from any other sources. As its narratives bring us into connection with the times and events chronicled by other historians, they are found to be accurate in the main, and where apparent discrepancies are presented, careful investigation and fuller information remove the discrepancy, or indicate that the statements of this book are more accurate than the histories with which they are compared. Modern discoveries have afforded convincing evidence of its singular accuracy on some points in which it had been supposed to be inaccurate. Where its statements are still called in question, as in the story of the creation, theories alone, not attested history, are placed in opposition to it, and most thoughtful students will admit that the

biblical narrative affords at least as rational an account of creation as any cosmogony yet presented for the acceptance of mankind, and one that in its details is at least as "thinkable" as any modern atheistic conception of creation.

The position of the book in the literature of the world is not less peculiar. It contains the earliest specimens of many styles of composition. We have alluded to its history. Portions of that were written more than a thousand years before Herodotus, who was regarded by the Greeks as the father of history. "The lyric poetry of the Hebrews was in its golden age nearly a thousand years before the birth of Horace. Deborah sang a model of a triumphal song full five hundred years before Sappho was born. The author of Ecclesiastes discussed the problem of evil five hundred years before Socrates in the Dialogues of Plato. The epithalamium of the Canticles is nearly a thousand years older than Ovid's "Art of Love." The Book of Esther was a venerable fragment of biography, more strange than fiction, at least twelve hundred years old, at the dawn of the romantic literature of Europe. The Proverbs of Solomon are by eight hundred years more ancient than the treatises of Seneca."*

The antiquity of the book entitles it to a distinguished place in human literature. But this is not its chief claim to attention. Apart from its history and its literature, its treasures are inestimable. It touches on the most important interests of man. It professes to come to him from God, and to impart to him light on subjects which he admits to be of the greatest moment to him—subjects which he cannot keep from his thoughts, which are necessarily related to his nature. It tells him about God, his own spiritual nature, of life beyond the grave, and of a future judgment. It tells him of sin—its nature and terrible consequences; and unfolds to him the method of salvation, offering its teachings as a guide to peace of conscience and everlasting happiness. It comes as a code of morals, setting forth what God requires, and demanding man's obedience: its very claims force it into notice. No man can afford to neglect such a book: it challenges attention. Hence in every age it has engaged the thought of men, and drawn out some of the most gifted minds in the study

* Phelps, "Men and Books."

of its pages. At the present day the interest in the study of these Scriptures is greatly quickened. The character and claims of the Book are investigated with a clearness and a wealth of scholarship never previously brought to bear on any other book. This is not a sign of lessened respect for its teachings, or of diminished confidence in its authority. On the contrary, the searching examinations to which these records are subjected attest in the strongest manner that men feel that the contents of the book supply some reasonable basis for the claims put forth on behalf of its divine origin, and make it their duty and interest to do all they can to ascertain and understand what is the foundation on which these claims rest.

Hence men desire to possess the very words of the authors of the several portions of this wondrous book. The study of the sacred text has developed into a science. Borne on by a noble enthusiasm, specialists in this department of sacred literature have sought for early manuscripts of the Scriptures as men hunt for concealed treasures. The story of their adventures while in pursuit of the object of their quest has, not inaptly, been called "the romance of the manuscripts." As the result of their persistent toil in ferreting out ancient copies of the sacred books, scanning with care those manuscripts when found, comparing the various readings presented, weighing the evidence on which each reading rests, as cautiously as the merchant weighs the finest gold, and selecting that which comes forth from the testing furnace most approved, the labors of such men as Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, have, in all probability, secured for the present age, a text nearer to the very words written by the inspired penmen than it has been permitted any age of the Church from the days of the apostles to possess.

The importance attached to these labors is evinced by the interest excited by the publication of the Revised Version^o of the New Testament. The demand for that work was unprecedented. The execution of the work has been severely criticised. Some of those criticisms are undoubtedly deserved. This is but to admit that the work is not perfect. When all reasonable deductions for these blemishes have been made, the work of the revisers stands forth as a noble contribution to

biblical science. The most prejudiced of intelligent biblical scholars, if asked by one whose limited education confines him to a translation into the English language, in what book he would find the most correct representation of the original text of the Testament, could scarcely hesitate to reply, "Read the Revised Version." The debt of students of the Bible to the men who have devoted their time and energies to the study of textual criticism is incalculable.

Having obtained a correct text, the next thing to be sought for is to ascertain the correct meaning of that text. This, and nothing but this, is the word of God. We may have the very words in which the oracle was uttered, yet those words may prove not merely useless but even misleading, unless they are correctly interpreted. It is essential to a correct understanding that the precise meaning of the words be known. Hence the importance of a suitable lexicon. We have several lexicons of the Hebrew language, and not a few devoted specially to New Testament Greek. It is in this department that the student of Scripture encounters one of his most serious difficulties. Christianity as a new revelation created a vocabulary peculiarly its own. Its heralds introduced some new words. But, for the most part, they employed words already in use, imparting to them a new, richer, fuller meaning, ennobling the words by their adoption into the language of the kingdom. The compiler of such a lexicon as is needed must give full attention to what has been happily designated "the language-molding power of Christianity." Perhaps it would not be going too far to say, that the greatest desideratum to the student of the New Testament at the present time is a really good lexicon of New Testament Greek. The biblical scholar who will furnish such a work will confer a lasting benefit on many, and one that will encourage not a few to study the Greek text with more persistent earnestness.

The grammatical peculiarities of New Testament Greek are not few. The very genesis of the dialect, and the circumstances of the authors, necessitated this. A knowledge of those peculiarities will be a great help to the interpreter of the sacred text. In this department, if we are not yet furnished with all that we could desire, we have very valuable help in the grammars of Winer and Buttmann, especially as they have

been annotated in the translations into English by Thayer and Moulton.

A further help to a correct interpretation will be found in the knowledge of the personal history and character of the writer of each book, the circumstances of those to whom he wrote, the particular object he had in view, and the time and place in which he wrote. This age is rich in treatises on Old and New Testament "introduction," or in monographs in which all that is needful in the case of separate books is abundantly supplied. These cannot be safely left unnoticed by any person who aims at a correct interpretation of the oracles of God.

These appliances supply the material on which the interpreter has to try his skill, and the tools which he is to employ in his noble work. Hermeneutics comes to his aid when he is thus furnished; points out his work, teaches him how to do that work, and drills him in the use of his tools.

In the following quotation Dr. Terry states with clearness and fullness the aim of Hermeneutics, and carefully points out the difference between several departments of sacred literature :

Hermeneutics aims to establish the principles, methods, and rules which are needful to unfold the sense of what is written. Its object is to elucidate whatever may be obscure or ill-defined, so that every reader may be able, by an intelligent process, to obtain the exact ideas intended by the author. Exegesis is the application of these principles and laws, the actual bringing out into formal statements, and by other terms, the meaning of the author's words. Exegesis is related to hermeneutics as preaching is to homiletics, or, in general, as practice is to theory. Exposition is another word often used synonymously with exegesis, and has essentially the same signification; and yet, perhaps, in common usage, exposition denotes more extended development and illustration on the sense, dealing more largely with other Scriptures by comparison and contrast. We observe, accordingly, that the writer on Biblical Introduction examines the historical foundations and canonical authority of the books of Scripture. The textual critic detects interpolations, emends false readings, and aims to give us the very words which the sacred writers used. The exegete takes up these words, and by means of the principles of hermeneutics, defines their meaning, elucidates the scope and plan of each writer, and brings forth the grammatico-historical sense of what each book contains. The expositor builds upon the labors both of critics and exegetes, and sets forth in fuller

form, and by ample illustration, the ideas, doctrines, and moral lessons of the Scripture.—Pages 19, 20.

To the science of Biblical Hermeneutics Dr. Terry's book is a very valuable and a very timely contribution. It is clear in the statement of principles, full in the elucidation of them, independent in tone, and almost prodigal in the free outpouring of the acquisitions of a scholarship that is at once wide and accurate. If the library of which this work forms a volume be made up of works of equal merit, the distinguished editors may rejoice in the consciousness that they have given to the Church the most valuable contribution to theological science that has ever been issued by the press of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first part of the book is devoted to an "Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics." It would be somewhat difficult to show how all the topics discussed in this introduction fall naturally within the compass of a treatise on Hermeneutics. Considering that the work is intended as one volume of a library of Biblical and Theological Literature, the varied contents of this volume would suggest the fear that the province of some other writer, or even writers, must be intruded on. Some will think, from the extent of the volume, that the book would have been improved by the omission of some of the chapters. Still, few who read them attentively will wish that they had been omitted. They contain much valuable information on subjects cognate to the theme of the book, and afford ample evidence of the extensive reading of the author. The first chapter closes with a forceful setting forth of the rank and importance of Hermeneutics in Theological Science, and points out the vital importance of the study to the Christian preacher :

The great work of the Christian ministry is to preach the word ; and that most important labor cannot be effectually done without a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and skill in the interpretation and application of the same. Personal piety and practical godliness are nourished by the study of the written word. . . . The apostle Paul admonished Timothy that the Holy Scriptures were able to make him wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. And Jesus himself, interceding for his own chosen followers, prayed, " Sanctify them in the truth, thy word is truth." Accordingly, the Lord's ambassador must not adulterate, but rightly divide, the word of the truth. For if ever the divinely

appointed ministry of reconciliation accomplish the perfecting of the saints and the building up of the body of Christ so as to bring all to the attainment of the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, it must be done by a correct interpretation and efficient use of the word of God. The interpretation and application of that word must rest upon a sound and self-evidencing science of Hermeneutics.—Page 22.

It is refreshing to the spirit to meet with such a statement of the relation of the office of preaching to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. When this is recognized by the preachers of the Gospel generally there will be more attention devoted to "give the sense (of the book) and cause them (the people) to understand the reading." Then may we look for a more consistent, because a more enlightened, piety.

The third chapter treats of the languages of the Bible. We shall not follow the author into the discussion of the origin and growth of language. The chapter is fruitful in tempting themes, but they seem to draw the reader away from the subject of Hermeneutics. The opening utterance of the chapter challenges attention. Dr. Terry says:

A thorough acquaintance with the genius and grammatical structure of the original languages of the Bible is essentially the basis of all sound interpretation. A translation, however faithful, is itself an interpretation, and cannot be safely made a substitute for original and independent investigation. As an introduction, therefore, to Biblical Hermeneutics, it is of the first importance that we have a knowledge of those ancient tongues in which the sacred oracles were written.—Page 69.

It is not necessary here to discuss the question: Is any man qualified to act as an authorized public interpreter of Scripture who lacks this knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures were written? There would necessarily be a wide difference in the answers given to the question, and the answers on both sides would be sustained by arguments not to be lightly disregarded. All will probably agree that an ambassador ought, if possible, to be able to read his commission and credentials in the language in which they were written, and not rest satisfied to receive them at second-hand. The passage quoted is worthy of deep consideration, especially by young ministers, and students preparing for the ministry. The first stages in the attempt to acquire a really helpful knowledge of

the original languages of Scripture are comparatively uninviting and dull. Few students leave college sufficiently masters of Greek to read the New Testament in the original with ease and pleasure. Fewer still have made the peculiarities of New Testament Greek a special study. Many leave college without acquiring even the elements of Hebrew. Of the theological students who, in the seminary, nominally pursue a three-years' course in that language, very few make any real use of it in after life. One chief reason of this may be found in the difficulty which they experience in *reading* the original text. It would be well in all colleges and theological schools in which Hebrew is taught to devote so much time to the study in the first year as would enable the careful student to read the text aloud as correctly, fluently, and readily as English is read. While a child has to spell out every second word, and even then is not certain that he is correct, he is not likely to read extensively for pleasure. Many who have devoted their time and energy cheerfully to the study of Hebrew when preparing for the work of the ministry have found their labor and time unremunerative from the simple fact that the want of skill in reading the text made the work a perfect drudgery. If the minister's chief function be to expound and apply the Holy Scriptures, and if the teaching of Dr. Terry be correct, the student who is endeavoring to secure an education which may help to make him a workman who needeth not to be ashamed, must make up his mind to overcome every obstacle, and become so far a master of the original languages of the Scriptures as to read them with fluency and with a goodly measure of critical skill.

In the ninth chapter the author returns to the subject of Hermeneutics, and considers the qualifications of an interpreter. These are presented as intellectual—largely native to the soul; educational—acquired by study and research; and spiritual—which may be regarded both as native and acquired. There is some danger of losing sight of the last, while considering the first and second classes of qualifications. And yet, valuable as intellectual and educational qualifications unquestionably are, the spiritual qualifications must always remain the most important to the interpreter of Scripture. How instructive on this point are the words of a recent writer :

An object can only be seen by some appropriate faculty to which it naturally appeals. We must be mathematically minded to make the highest attainments in mathematics; poetically minded to have insight into the things of poetry; scientifically minded to know the deep things of natural science; spiritually minded to know the things of the Spirit. Holiness alone can understand holiness. "Without holiness no man can see the Lord," in his works or in his word, either in earth or in heaven. Without holiness you may, indeed, understand Hebrew as well as Caiaphas did; Latin as well as Pilate did; the Greek as well as that Athenian did who charged Paul with setting forth "strange gods;" the geography and antiquities of Palestine as perfectly as the proudest Pharisee that ever wore phylacteries; but God's book will be a sealed book to you; and though you may have a grammatical knowledge of the words which reveal holy things, you will never know the things themselves. For "the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned;" while "he that is spiritual judgeth all things." Well might Augustine say: "The *heart* is the true theologian;" for, from the nature of things, as well as from the sovereign declaration of the Great Teacher, we learn that only "the pure in heart shall see God."*

Few will rise from the study of this chapter without feeling "Who is sufficient for these things?"

The second and most important part of the work treats of the "Principles of Biblical Hermeneutics." These are defined as "those governing laws and methods of procedure by which the interpreter determines the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. They are of the nature of comprehensive and fundamental doctrines. They become to the practical exegete so many maxims, postulates, and settled rules. He is supposed to hold them in his mind as axioms, and to apply them in all his expositions with uniform consistency."—P. 161. The importance of establishing sound and trustworthy principles of exposition is fully realized, and clearly stated, by the author. This is evidently felt to be the chief end of writing the book. Yet this is just the point which many interpreters of Scripture fail to see and neglect to provide for. The Bible is analogous to nature in many respects—certainly in this, that sad work has been made out of the attempt to explain the mysteries of both as the result of entering on that work without any fixed principles of interpretation, or under the control of erroneous prin-

* Stanford, "Central Truths," p. 73.

ciples. The divine origin of the Bible, as of nature, is demonstrated by its absolute inexhaustibleness. As the scientists of each succeeding generation find that the discoveries of their predecessors have left a large virgin field still untouched to invite and reward their labors, so the students of the Bible constantly find, as their eyes are opened to behold wondrous things out of God's law, that their patient toil in "ransacking" the Scriptures is ever and anon rewarded with the discovery of some gem of truth that had, up to that moment, concealed itself from the explorer's view. Men study nature and the Bible, and weary not of their work. In investigating them they find no indication of failing material. Between these two inexhaustible revelations of the same infinite Intelligence there is a marked difference; yet the points of interest in common are not few. Each unfolds what is all-important to man. In each the practically useful is closely connected with what is theoretically sound. In neither will you find the treasures on the surface. Earnest labor, diligent and persevering, is the only condition on which they will yield up their hidden treasures. When these are sought in the right way the results richly recompense the toil of the workers. Hence the evils of mistake in the methods of study are proportional to the value and importance of the results aimed at. Few chapters in the chronicles of human progress are more interesting than the story of the life-work of some of the early pioneers in investigating the secrets of nature. Their enthusiastic devotedness to their chosen pursuit calls forth our admiration. Their heroic perseverance in the midst of discouragements, and the stupendous difficulties over which they triumphed, impress us with the sense of their energy and indomitable will. Yet during many years they made little progress in the knowledge of nature. Many of the theories which they believed and taught provoke a smile at the present day; and their practical discoveries, when placed in comparison with those of the past fifty years, seem meager in the extreme. Looking back from our vantage-ground we can, without difficulty, detect some of the causes of their failure. In many cases their efforts were directed to the attainment of objects not within the field of human science. In seeking these, the most approved methods of modern investigation would have been utterly useless. The

chemist of modern science has astonished the world by his discoveries, and has enriched it by the practical application of them to the affairs of every-day life: but Faraday, Tyndall, and their fellow-laborers are just as far from discovering the philosopher's stone as the alchemist of the distant past, who consumed the energies of a life in the persistent quest of that wondrous phantom. The comparatively unfruitful outcome of their ceaseless toil is now clearly seen to have been due in many cases to their employment of methods not suitable to their work. The methods they employed could not, in the hands of any investigators, have yielded results really satisfactory. In modern times immense strides have been made in man's knowledge of the universe and its laws. Of this all are conscious. Yet as the advancement of science goes on daily around us we do not notice the changes that it is working, as we should be certain to do under other circumstances. If one of the foremost sons of science of a hundred years ago were permitted to return to the earth, he would find himself in a new world. When his astonishment would permit him to speak, he would discover that his vocabulary did not supply the words he would require to converse on subjects that are perfectly familiar to us in our every-day life. To him every thing would seem changed. Yet there has been no change in nature. No new elements have been introduced. No new principles have been set at work. The principles of nature are better understood by men, and are more wisely and more extensively applied in practice. That is all. The consequence is, all the discoveries of modern science and all the increase in the comforts and conveniences peculiar to modern civilization. Who can estimate the advantage?

The heavens declared the glory of God in the infancy of our race in accents just as loud and just as intelligible as in our day, but the voices were, in good part, unintelligible to man, because he had not yet learned in even an imperfect sense "to think God's thoughts after him." The treasures stored up in the depths of the earth, and the marvelous properties latent in the commonest things surrounding man, voiced then the tender love of our Father to his new-born children, and his matchless wisdom in providing for their ever-multiplying needs, just as distinctly as at present; but the richness of that provision, and

the adaptation of the world provided for them, were then comparatively hidden from their view, because men had not learned to unearth those treasures, or to understand and utilize those properties. Nature more scientifically studied, more correctly understood, more wisely and extensively utilized, has yielded us the clearer light and the substantial advantages which we possess as compared with the men of former times. As we exult in those possessions, and pity those who lived surrounded with the same treasures but knew it not, may we not fancy that the men of a coming age will feel a like pity for us? With all the perfection of our modern science, and the attention devoted to the methods of studying nature, is it not possible that we are living surrounded by treasures inconceivable in their vastness and their value, which shall speak to the men of ages yet to come the inexhaustible goodness of God, in accents just as clear as those in which the boundless goodness of our God now calls forth our adoring gratitude?

The Bible is a higher revelation from God of himself, and of his love to man, and his bounteous provision for his varying necessities. The blessing conferred on us by the book are even more valuable and lasting than those presented to us in nature, and, when rightly apprehended, they fully justify the statement of the apostle when he speaks of the possession of the oracles of God as the highest advantage conferred on our race. The Scriptures, wherever known, even in part, touch man's highest interests, and always for good. It is impossible to estimate aright the obligations of the world to the Bible. The human family has lost much from the errors into which the interpreters of the book have fallen in the past. Those errors have been similar to the mistakes which have limited and even marred the work of the interpreters of nature. The purpose of the book has been misapprehended. Light has been sought from it on points on which it was not designed to be a revelation. Methods have been adopted in investigating its teachings which were utterly unfitted to lead to a correct interpretation, and, in cases not a few, would-be interpreters have come to the Book, not to ascertain its teachings, but to find in it support for theories adopted without any reference to its utterances. Sad as these things are, they only show that the men were human. Their errors have not changed the character of the

Bible, or weakened its claims on the attention of men. This needs to be kept in mind. Many persons speak and write as if they thought that the mistakes of generations past in the use of the Bible, and the unwarranted conclusions forced from it, were reasons why the book itself should be discredited or neglected. As we study the expositions of the Bible that have come down to us from the ages that are past, we meet with many things that are erroneous, absurd, mischievous; but these notwithstanding, the book abides, and is still "the perfect law of liberty," able to make wise unto salvation. The erroneous doctrines and misleading conclusions of former interpreters, clearly seen now, are laid aside, just as refuted theories in natural science are discarded. These are seen to have been no part of the Bible, as the errors of the early scientists are seen to have been no part of nature; and as the modern scientist still looks to the universe around him as the source whence, and whence alone, he may hope to obtain the knowledge which he seeks, so he who has separated himself to pursue the truths that bear on the highest interests of man's nature—the spiritual and the moral—turns to the oracles of God with unabated confidence as the one great store-house in which he may find the most valuable knowledge within the reach of man on the subjects of his study. He clearly perceives the errors of his predecessors, and without difficulty traces many of them to the faulty principles of interpretation adopted in the study of the book. He wonders at the masses of rich ore which, in spite of this impediment, they were enabled to extract from this mine of inspired truth; and, arguing from the analogous history of scientific investigation, he is captivated with the picture that rises before his vision of the glorious results that await his investigation when, under the guidance of sound and carefully selected principles of interpretation, he devotes his energies to understand and make known the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge that abound in this matchless book.

Whatever others may think, the extent of the second division of the work will not be regarded by such a student as a blemish in the book. In it we meet with carefully studied expositions of parables, allegories, difficult prophetic passages, and, especially, minute and lengthy comments on the eschatological portions of the Scriptures. These may be regarded by some

as out of place in a treatise on Hermeneutics. Yet they are not to be regarded as accidents, or as so many digressions from the theme of the book. If we are guided by the familiar canon, "In every work regard the writer's aim," they will be esteemed an essential part of his plan. Thus the author says :

As the full grammar of a language establishes its principles by sufficient examples and by formal praxis, so a science of hermeneutics must needs verify and illustrate its principles by examples of their practical application. Its province is not merely to define principles and methods, but also to exemplify and illustrate them. Hermeneutics, therefore, is both a science and an art. As a science, it enunciates principles, investigates the laws of thought and language, and classifies its facts and results. As an art, it teaches what application those principles should have, and establishes their soundness by showing their practical value in the elucidation of the more difficult Scriptures. The hermeneutical art thus cultivates and establishes a valid exegetical procedure.—Page 20.

Viewed from this stand point, the expositions constitute the "praxis" of the system, illustrating the application of the principles inculcated, and the results reached by the use of them. To many readers they will constitute a chief attraction of the book; and, while some may not adopt all the principles laid down, and be further still from agreeing in every case with the expositions reached through the application of those principles, yet will they find in the illustration of the method of applying principles once adopted, and working them out carefully and conscientiously in exposition, much that will be of permanent value to them in their personal study of the sacred writings.

In entering on the statement of principles a chapter is devoted to the "Different Methods of Interpretation." The principles of the Allegorical, Mystical, Pietistic, Accommodation-Theory, Moral, Naturalistic, Mythical, Apologetic, and Dogmatic Methods of Interpretation are briefly set before the readers, with the names of leading interpreters in each school, and a specimen of their interpretation. The list closes with the Grammatico-Historical Method, of which we are told :

In distinction from all the above-mentioned methods of interpretation, we may name the Grammatico-Historical as the method which most fully commends itself to the judgment and conscience of Christian scholars. Its fundamental principle is to

gather from the Scriptures themselves the precise meaning which the writers intended to convey. It applies to the sacred books the same principles, the same grammatical process and exercise of common sense and reason, which we apply to other books. The grammatico-historical exegete, furnished with suitable qualifications, intellectual, educational, and moral, will accept the claims of the Bible without prejudice or adverse prepossession, and, with no ambition to prove them true or false, will investigate the language and import of each book with fearless independence. He will master the language of the writer, the particular dialect which he used, and his peculiar style and manner of expression. He will inquire into the circumstances under which he wrote, the manners and customs of his age, and the purpose or object which he had in view. He has a right to assume that no sensible author will be knowingly inconsistent with himself or seek to bewilder and mislead his readers.—Page 173.

Again, (on page 210,) we read:

The grammatical sense is to be always sought by a careful study and application of the well-established principles and rules of the language. A close attention to the meaning and relations of words, a care to note the course of thought, and to allow each case, mood, tense, and the position of each word, to contribute its part to the general whole, and a caution lest we assign to words and phrases a scope and conception foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the language—these are rules which, if faithfully observed, will always serve to bring out the real import of any document.

These extracts set before us the key-note of Dr. Terry's system, the basis, approved as solid and trustworthy, on which his system rests. He has evidently studied his positions with care, and tested them in practice. Hence he feels no lack of confidence in them. He maintains them manfully, and follows them without misgiving wherever they may lead. He lays it down as a principle that "words and sentences can have but one signification in one and the same connection. The moment we neglect this principle we drift out upon a sea of uncertainty and conjecture." Applying this principle to the narratives of miraculous events, he writes:

The miracles of the Bible are recorded as facts, actual occurrences, witnessed by few or by many as the case might be, and the writers give no intimation that their statements involve any thing but plain literal truth. Even in the much-disputed story of Jephthah's daughter he abides by his canon, and says, "The sacred writer declares that, after the two months, Jephthah did to his daughter the vow *which he had vowed*—not something else which he had not vowed.

The same manly confidence in the application of principles deliberately adopted characterizes the book in discussing questions not merely of exposition, but matters belonging to other departments of sacred literature. We may select as an illustration the question as to the date of the Apocalypse. Our author lays it down as a principle of interpretation "that all due regard must be had to the person and circumstances of the author, the time and place of his writing, and the occasion and reasons which led him to write. Nor must we omit similar inquiry into the character, conditions, and history of those for whom the book was written, and of those also of whom the book makes mention." Having briefly touched upon the external evidence, and pointed out its weakness as favoring the later date, he sums up the internal evidence in the following "six propositions: "

1. No critic of any note has ever claimed that the later date is required by any internal evidence. 2. On the contrary, if John the apostle is the author, the comparatively rough Hebraic style of the language unquestionably argues for it an earlier date than his gospel or epistles. 3. The address "to the seven Churches which are in Asia" (i, 4, 11) implies that at this time there were only seven Churches in that Asia where Paul was once forbidden by the Spirit to speak the word. 4. The prominence in which persecution from the Jews is set forth in the epistles to the seven Churches also argues an early date. 5. A most weighty argument for the early date appears in the mention of the temple, court, and city in chapter xi, 1, 3. These references, and the further designation, in verse 8, of that city "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified," obviously imply that the Jewish temple, court, and city were yet standing. 6. Finally, what should especially impress every reader is the emphatic statement, placed in the very title of the book, and repeated in one form and another again and again, that this is a revelation of "things which must shortly come to pass," and the time of which is near "at hand," (Rev. i, 1, 3; xxii, 6, 7, 10, 12, 20.)

In treating of the exposition of parables we are reminded that the parable has three parts: 1. The occasion and scope; 2. The similitude, in the form of a real narrative; and, 3. The moral and religious lessons. Answering to these we are told:

The hermeneutical principles which should guide us in understanding all parables are mainly three. First, we should determine the historical occasion and aim of the parable; secondly,

we should make an accurate analysis of the subject-matter, and observe the nature and properties of the thing employed as imagery in the similitudes; and thirdly, we should interpret the several parts with reference to the general scope and design of the whole, so as to preserve a harmony of proportion, maintain the unity of all the parts, and make prominent the great central truth.

Carrying out the practical character of the book, this method of interpretation is illustrated by a careful exposition of several of the parables. This "praxis" will well repay a careful study. The chapters on Interpretation of Symbols, Symbolico-Typical Actions, Symbolical Numbers, Names, and Colors, Dreams and Prophetic Ecstasy, Prophecy and its Interpretation, Daniel's Vision of the Four Empires, Old Testament Apocalypics, The Gospel Apocalypse, The Pauline Eschatology, The Apocalypse of John, are well written, and touch on some of the most interesting points in the creed of the Christian Church. Many readers will be disposed to question the claim that some of the matters treated of in these chapters really have to a minute discussion in a work on Hermeneutics. Let opinions vary on this point as they may, all will agree that Dr. Terry writes on them with a clearness which renders it difficult for any attentive scholar to misapprehend his meaning, and with a manly confidence which bespeaks the conviction that careful examination entitles him to speak on these vexed questions with the authority of a master in Israel. Notwithstanding the comprehensive summary of New Testament Apocalypics and Eschatology with which the twenty-sixth chapter closes, some readers will feel anxious to know what views Dr. Terry holds as to the words of the Creed, "from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead," and on what Scripture passages he would base the final coming of Christ, the future judgment, and eternal destiny. The closing sentence of the summary, "the final manifestation of the Christ, when he shall have completed the work of redemption, and delivered over the kingdom to the Father, is left by the sacred writers in too great mystery for us to affirm definitely any thing concerning it," may indicate a very safe and prudent reserve, but certainly cannot be received as a very valuable addition to our knowledge on these important topics, after so protracted an examination of many of the passages in the Bible treating on

them. In the chapter entitled "No Double Sense in Prophecy," the author shows that the Scriptures are capable of manifold practical applications, and adds that "the moment we admit the principle that portions of Scripture contain an occult or double sense we introduce an element of uncertainty in the sacred volume, and unsettle all scientific interpretation." The teachings of this chapter are worthy of special attention, and if prudently applied will save from many mistakes in the exposition of the prophetic Scriptures. The chapter on "The False and the True Accommodation," and that portion of chapter thirty-three which treats of the "Analogy of Faith," are clearly connected with the subject of the book; but however highly we may estimate the material of some other chapters of this second part, we cannot but feel that they are not essential to the completeness of the treatise, and that they needlessly swell the size of the volume, which, from the extended passages wisely used as "praxis" to train the student in the practical use of the principles of the science, is almost too extensive without them.

The third part contains a History of Biblical Interpretation. Without this the work would not have been complete. A little economy of space in the former parts, and a somewhat fuller and more systematic treatment of the History of Hermeneutics would, in our opinion, have been desirable. Nine distinct periods are dwelt upon, a chapter being devoted to each period. These chapters are full of interesting and valuable information. They do not, however, furnish a satisfactory *history* of Biblical Interpretation. They rather furnish an annotated list of many of the principal contributors to biblical literature in every age, with the insertion of the names of some who, by their attacks on Christianity, induced the friends of truth to devote their time and energies to the preparation of defensive treatises in many departments of theological literature, not confining themselves to Hermeneutics. One cannot help asking why some names find a place on the list, or wishing that a little more had been said about others. Laying down the book after a careful reading of this part, a feeling bordering on disappointment takes possession of the reader. He does not feel as if had received any clear impression of the progressive development of the science. He does not apprehend what were the particular contributions of each period to hermeneutics,

and is unable to trace their influence in bringing the science to its present advanced condition. This impression might perchance have been lessened if this part had been read before the discussion of the principles of the science. The details presented in the history, as it is, clearly and forcefully sustain what the author has said on the necessity and value of sound principles of interpretation. When giants in intellect and prodigies in learning, such as many of those named, were led by the adoption of absurd principles of interpretation soberly to advance such views as they held as a worthy exposition of the Book of God, and to support those views with earnestness, there need be—we had almost said there can be—no more convincing proof of the absolute necessity of “well-defined and self-consistent principles of Scripture interpretation.” As we reflect on the exhibition of the lamentable effects of the application of incorrect or faulty principles of interpretation manifest in the expository works of such men, a sadness comes over us, and the thought cannot be repressed, What might not they have accomplished if, before entering on their work, they had thoroughly mastered the science of Biblical Hermeneutics? How wholesome would have been the effect of their labors on the theology of the ages! How blessed their influence on the Church!

The Bibliography of Hermeneutics which follows the History contains the names of many illustrious men who have been contributors to this science. Their books have done much to promote the intelligent study of the Scriptures, and to create and develop the science of Biblical Interpretation. No similar list in the future can be complete without the name of Dr. Terry, and in that list his name can hold no inferior place.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF
THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Beginnings of Geography; by Prof. Charles G. Haberman, LL.D. 2. The Nature of the Human Soul; by Rev. J. Ming. 3. The Duty of Catholics in the Face of Modern Unbelief; by Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J. 4. *Quid est Homo?* A Query on the Plurality of Worlds; by Rev. Thomas Hughes, S. J. 5. The Progress of the (Roman Catholic) Church in the United States; by John Gilmary Shea. 6. The Life and Times of Frederick the Second—The Kingdom of Italy; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S., etc. 7. The Irish Question, Present and Prospective; by Thomas Power O'Connor, M.P. 8. Martin Luther, and his American Worshipers; by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Corcoran, D.D. 9. Book Notices.

A. M. E. (African Methodist Episcopal) CHURCH REVIEW, (Quarterly,) Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. Thoughts about the Past, the Present, and the Future of the African M. E. Church; by Right Rev. Daniel A. Payne, D.D. 2. A Scriptural View; or, the Statement Concerning Paradise that was Lost, Regained; by Right Rev. Jabez P. Campbell, D.D. 3. An Inside View of the Great Methodist Ecumenical Conference of 1881; by Right Rev. Wm. F. Dickinson, D.D. 4. The Register of the United States Treasury; by Hon. E. K. Bruce. 5. Lincoln; by Right Rev. T. M. D. Ward, D.D. 6. The Greek of the New Testament; by W. S. Scarborough, LL.D. 7. The Dying Bondman; by Mrs. F. E. W. Harper. 8. Correspondence: Letter from Bishop H. M. Turner, D.D. 9. The Republic of Hayti, and the Revolution of 1876; by Rev. J. H. Durant. 10. The Negro in Science, Art, and Literature; by D. Augustus Straker, LL.B. 11. The Ministry we Need; by the Rev. Wm. H. Thomas. 12. Ripeness in the Gospel Ministry; by Rev. T. G. Steward, D.D. 13. That Text; by the Editor, (Rev. B. T. Tanner, D.D.) 14. Editorial Notes. 15. Our Book Table. 16. The Higher Periodicals.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY MAGAZINE, July 1884. Seventieth Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Seventieth Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers. Seventieth Annual Report. Recapitulation. General Statistical Table. Report of the Treasurer. Officers of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Preachers at Financial and Annual Meetings. Honorary Members for Life.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT, July and August, 1884. (Rev. Charles F. Deems, Editor. Bimonthly.) 1. Counter Currents in the Thought and Speculation of the Time; by Rev. J. H. Rylance. 2. Some Recent Criticisms on Theistic Belief; by Francis L. Patton, D.D. 3. Atheistic Scientists. (a poem;) by John Stuart Blackie. 4. An Unbeliever's Description of Christianity; by the late Lord O'Neill. 5. My Science. (a poem;) by William C. Richards. 6. Vedantism: a Popular Statement of Hindu Pantheism; by Rev. T. J. Scott. (of Bareilly, India.) 7. The Humorist Playing at Philosophy. 8. Memorabilia. 9. The Summer School at Key East; by C. M. Davis. 10. About Books.

CHRISTIAN WORLD, July, 1884. The American Church, Paris, (Illustrated;) by Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, D.D. Revolution of Massachusetts General Association. Special Amusements. Echoes from Paris; by Rev. A. F. Beard, D.D. Eden, (a poem;) by M. Saillins. A Million Francs for a Million Souls; by Pastor Frossard. Work among Italians in Marseilles; by Signor Piovallini. Testimonies Respecting France. Theological Seminary at Geneva; by Professor Bardi. Protestantism and French Politics. Monthly Receipts.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Visual Memory; by Professor Henry F. Osborn, Sc.D. 2. Claims of the Apostles as to

Inspiration; by Rev. C. S. Thwing. 3. God's Method in the Bible; by D. W. Faunce, D.D. 4. The Fruit of the Spirit; by Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D. 5. The Physiological Features of the Crucifixion; by Thomas A. Hoyt, D.D. 6. Miracles *versus* the Continuity of Nature; by Rev. Francis W. Ryder. 7. Is the Bible Free from Historic and Scientific Errors; by Rev. Addison P. Foster. 8. Is Evangelical Christianity Obsolete; by Rev. Charles Low. 9. The Cause and Tendencies of Popular Skepticism; by Rev. William Smith, (Hudson, N. Y.) 10. The Old Testament Tested; by Rev. W. F. Crafts. 11. A Naturalist in Egypt; by Principal John W. Dawson, LL.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, (Bimonthly,) September, 1884. (New Haven.)—1. Jonathan Edwards and the Half-way Covenant; by Rev. George Leon Walker, D.D., (Hartford.) 2. Jonathan Edwards as a Man, and the Ministers of the Last Century; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D., (Boston.) 3. Conditions of Success in Spelling Reform; by Prof. H. N. Day, (New Haven.) 4. Qualities of Matter, as Related to Perception; by Rev. E. Jones, (Oakland, Cal.) 5. The First Church of Hartford, Conn.; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, (Boston.) 6. The Anti-Christian Use of the Bible in the Sunday-School; by Rev. J. M. Whiton, (Newark, N. J.) 7. The Condition of the Laboring Classes of England; by Rev. C. S. Walker, (South Amherst.) 8. Immortality and Evolution; by Miss Vida D. Scudder, (Magnolia, Mass.) 9. Underground Russia; by Marion Wilcox, (New Haven.) 10. Taxation in the United States. 11. Notices of New Books.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, August, 1884. (New York.)—1. The Encroachment of Capital; by Justice James V. Campbell. 2. The Origin of Comets; by Richard A. Proctor. 3. Are We a Nation of Rascals? by John F. Home. 4. Man and Brute; by George J. Romanes. 5. The Drift toward Centralization; by Judge Edward G. Loring. 6. The American Element in Fiction; by Julian Hawthorne. 7. Prohibition and Persuasion; by Neal Dow and Dr. Dio Lewis.

September, 1884.—1. The Basis of Popular Government; by Bishop J. L. Spaulding. 2. The Demand of the Industrial Spirit; by Charles Dudley Warner. 3. Inspiration and Infallibility; by Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance. 4. The Need of Liberal Divorce Laws; by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. 5. Our Remote Ancestry; by Prof. Alexander Winchell. 6. The Exclusion of the Chinese; by John H. Durst. 7. Evils of the Tariff System; by David Wells, and others.

PREBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Rev. Dr. James Richards and his Theology, (II); by Prof. R. B. Welch, D.D. 2. The Proper Training of Young Converts; by Rev. Francis F. Hamlin. 3. Melancthon; by Rev. Prof. Schaff. 4. The Religious Belief of Shakespeare. 5. Notes and Notices. 6. Reviews of Recent Theological Literature.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1884. J. W. HINTON, Editor. (Macon, Ga.)—1. Animal and Vegetable Kingdom. 2. The Revival of Letters. 3. Greek Mythology and Philosophy. 4. Experimental Argument, etc. 5. Mormonism. 6. Theological Methods. 7. Mrs. Browning. 8. Incarnation of Christ. 9. The Category of Being. 10. *Æsthetics*. 11. Limits of the Beautiful. 12. Paradox. Library, Table, Views and Reviews. Editorial Notes.

UNITARIAN REVIEW AND RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE, July, 1884. (Boston.)—1. Where are We in Religion? by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer. 2. The New English Dictionary; by W. C. Ernst. 3. Idealism in German Ethics; by Rev. J. G. Brooks. 4. A Daring Faith; by Rev. John W. Chadwick. 5. Relation of the Church of To-day to Education; by Rev. John H. Allen. 6. Editor's Note-Book. 7. Current Movements and Events. 8. Things at Home and Abroad. 9. Review of Current Literature.

August, 1884.—1. Ezra Abbott, D.D., LL.D.; by Prof. James H. Thayer. 2. The Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Testament; by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D. 3. Personality in Theism; by Rev. B. R. Bulkley. 4. Education of Women in France; by D. Charraud. 5. Editor's Note-Book. 6. Current Movements and Events. 7. Things at Home and Abroad; by Mrs. Martha P. Lowe. 8. Review of Current Literature.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1884. (Oberlin, Ohio.)—1. Christian Doctrine and Life; by Rev. D. W. Simon, D.D. 2. The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians; by the Rev. B. Pick. 3. Commonplace Books; a Lecture; by Prof. James Davis Butler, LL.D. 4. Inspiration; with Remarks on the Theory Presented in Ladd's Doctrine of Sacred Scripture; by Rev. Geo. N. Boardman, D.D. 5. The Dialectic Method of Jesus; by Rev. Richard Montague. 6. The True Principles of Theological Progress; by President Fairchild. 7. Critical Notes. 8. Current Periodical Literature—American, English, French, German. 9. Notices of Recent Publications.

Article 4, filling nearly fifty pages, is an elaborate discussion of the doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures as held and taught especially among Protestants, with special references to the system or theory set forth in his recently published work by Professor Ladd, of Yale College. The writer's views are apparently much less "advanced" than are those of the author whom he reviews, though he is still himself very far removed from the literalistic and mechanical theory which so long, and, until comparatively recently, was generally accepted by the evangelical Churches. He begins by setting forth that theory as one of the two prevalent, perhaps possible, views of inspiration, the other being that form of inspiration which operates exclusively through the mind of the subject by which he speaks and writes in his own proper and consciously self-directed individuality. According to the former of these, the Bible is, in all its details, simply a transcript of the divine mind—God's thoughts expressed in human language—itself dictated by the controlling Spirit. This theory the reviewer quite correctly sets aside as altogether untenable, and no longer sustained by any respectable authority; and yet he appears not to be prepared to accept the alternative one, unless carefully guarded, and, indeed, limited, by such conditions as would change its identity. This latter is the theory of Professor Ladd, as wrought out in his elaborate treatise on "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture."

This method of viewing Scripture doctrines, in and through certain definite theories, is beset with very considerable disadvantages, which may also become perilous by compelling the acceptance of dangerous errors because of their association with indispensable truths. It may be also objected that neither of these theories, nor any other, is either directly, or by implication, taught in the Scriptures, which, however, do most certainly claim to have been given by divine inspiration. Any possible conception of such a gift implies a communication

between the divine and the human intelligence, but the method of the assumed intercourse need not to be always the same. The supernatural is a universal presence in the realm of the natural, and is able at any time to become manifest in men's natural consciousness; and, by virtue of this, "God, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past by the prophets," and some of the forms in which he so spake will be found to belong to both of the categories included in the above theories. The *mode* in which God in any case reveals himself and his dispensations is incomparably less important than is the fact that he does it.

The word "inspiration" is here, as in many other cases, so used as to lead to a wrong conception of the thing indicated. It seems to be thought of as a force like gravity or magnetism, which may vary in its intensity, and be present in greater or less degrees in different instances; and accordingly some parts of Scripture are absurdly spoken of as being more inspired than others. Inspiration, in respect to its efficiency, is the divine mind communicating thoughts and purposes to the human consciousness, and hence, as to its source, it is unchangeably infinite, but it is conditioned, in its manifestations, "according to the will of God." In some cases, as in the words of Christ, and in not a few utterances of the prophets and apostles, the divine lesson comes to us directly and unmixed, while in others it is mingled with human admixtures, and is presented in a human setting, yet so manifested that the quickened spiritual instincts readily apprehend and appropriate its teachings; and the written word is the record of the divine manifestations of the dispensations of Heaven to mankind, whether in revelations made to persons, or as indicated in the affairs of peoples and communities. The reviewer with sufficient clearness indicates Professor Ladd's defective notions, but though presumably dissenting, yet his dissent is either left to be inferred, or at most is only hinted, and the views presented are almost never directly antagonized; as if the statement of an incorrect opinion were its sufficient refutation, or else that to oppose the truth to a pernicious error were a breach of courtesy. Professor Ladd states and elaborates the thought that while all spiritual truth comes from God to man, that which is recorded in the Bible differs in no important sense from that which is given to all the

faithful at all times, so dispensing with the sole authority of the written word, and, indeed, rendering it, though still useful, yet not essential to the knowledge of God and his salvation; and his statements are here reproduced without being directly controverted. Again, the distinction between *inspiration* and *revelation* is emphasized, shutting up the sense of the former to the subjective state of the soul, by which it is made capable of receiving the truth, while by the latter term is indicated the objective truth given by God to man. The distinction may be both real and valuable; but in its ordinary and almost universal use, the former term covers both these ideas. The idea of the inspiration of the Bible as generally entertained by the learned, as well as the unlearned, includes both the divine activity in revealing, and the supernatural apprehension by the human consciousness of truths and doctrines which men could not otherwise attain to. Both the things revealed and the modes of their revelation are unique; they are given in their own peculiar way, and for that reason they are especially profitable to men.

CHRISTIAN (CAMPBELLITE) QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (Columbia, Mo.)—

1. Genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter; by Prof. J. W. M'Garvey.
2. Hermeneutical Criticism; by B. U. Watkins.
3. The Gift of the Holy Spirit, (Acts ii, 38, 39;) by Hon. James Beatty.
4. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans: A Paraphrase, with Notes; by Pres. B. R. Dungan.
5. The Church in its Idea and its Form; by Pres. W. K. Pendleton.
6. The New Congregational Creed; by J. Z. Tyler.
7. What is the Church of Christ? and What are its Numbers? by Pres. F. M. Bruner.
8. The Temptation of Jesus; by J. W. Monsor.
9. The Divine Mystery; by Henry Schell Lobingen.
10. Book Notices.

Article 8 of the above, though brief, is a spirited paper, and as wholesome as it is vivacious; and, with other papers in this "Review," it clearly indicates a most gratifying tendency in the body that it represents to a wholesome orthodoxy in respect to some of the most important articles of the Christian faith. The following respecting the contact between Christ and "the Tempter" is certainly a happy putting of the case:

Baffled humanity, writhing under the captivity of Satan, is now to renew its courage and inspirations by following One who, ever having done the will of his heavenly Father, comes not to this tremendous but necessary contest pliant and weak, but capable of coping with principalities and powers in high places. Such strength does one derive from constant obedience to the divine will. Nor must we be afraid to face this fact of God—the putting Satan to work on the character and life of Jesus. Augustine

often used to say, that the entire history, moral and spiritual, of the world, revolves around two persons, Adam and Christ. Certainly, as to temptation, its origin, onset, victory, defeat, destruction, and the like, much devolves on them. The invasion of Adam is the prophesy of the invasion of Jesus. The maintenance of position, given of God, in which Adam proved such a failure was verily nipping the hopes of mankind in the bud; the interposition of Jesus, and the issue he joins with the Adversary, is as a new lease of those hopes, or, more correctly, the implanting of a new and better hope. It was no extraordinary thing for Satan to attack the Son of Man; nor was it extraordinary for the Spirit to lead Jesus into the wilderness for this purpose. "Hast thou considered my servant Job?" asked God of Satan hundreds of years previous to this. A careful study of the Scriptures will satisfy any one of the place filled by Satan in the drama of mankind. There is a dark and mysterious element in man's life and history, a casting down and an elevation, a moral ebb and flow, which nothing else can explain save this constant wrestle with Satan. . . . Whether God sent Satan into this world, originally, on a mission to man, is not a question that necessarily forces itself on one by positions already taken in this article; since it is the purpose of God to wrest evil into the service of good. Satan was evidently in the world, and for the purpose of mischief. God utilizes him in the interest of man. Under the divine guidance, he is made a factor in the formation of moral character.

To this it may be pertinent to add another quotation, from another source, which may also cast light upon this great mystery of Christ's temptation and victory in the wilderness:

If we consider the three specific temptations of Christ, it will readily appear that they all related directly to his Messianic character and mission. This, probably, was the fact in respect to all his temptations during his forty days' sojourn in the wilderness. He had gone through all the temptations of private life during his abode in Galilee, and had preserved his integrity in them all; but his new conditions, and the tremendous truth of his high calling to rescue a ruined world and to fulfill all the work appointed to the Messiah, raised new thoughts and called for new purposes and modes of action for the accomplishment of that work. These brought with them their momentary doubttings and perplexities; perhaps, also, hesitations as to methods, though certainly not as to the simplicity and steadiness of his purpose to "fulfill all righteousness"—to do only the will of the Father. In the three specified temptations their Messianic relations are clearly obvious, and their real nature can be properly appreciated only as they are so considered. They were, (1) to use his divinity for personal ends; (2) to demonstrate his Messiahship by "signs;" (3) to conciliate the enemy in bringing in the kingdom of God.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, July, 1884. (Chicago.)—

1. Lectures on Polytheism, (III:) by F. G. Fleay. 2. Schliemann at Ilium; by A. C. Merriam. 3. The Myths of the Raccoon and the Crawfish, among the Dakota Tribes; by J. H. Dorsey. 4. Antiquities of Mexico, (II:) by L. P. Gratacap. 5. Life among the Mandans; by Edward D. Neill. 6. Emblematical Mounds, Bird Effigies; by Stephen D. Peet. 7. Among the Mounds., (Editorial.) Notes on Classic Archaeology. Notes from Oriental Periodicals. Notes on American Archaeology, (Mound Builders, etc.) Book Reviews.

The most interesting feature of this number is what is given respecting the mounds found in the Ohio Valley and along the Upper Mississippi. These have been known from the earliest occupation of these parts by white men, but they have been strangely neglected by antiquarians and all classes of men of science. Indeed, until comparatively recently their antiquarian value had not been generally recognized, and so able a writer as Mr. George Bancroft writing of these land-marks, speaks of them as probably caused by running water. It is now well ascertained, however, that they were constructed for purpose of sepulture, and many of them have been opened and found to contain human bones, pottery, and charred wood. But most who have engaged in this work of excavation have known nothing of the historical and ethnological value of these things, and so the mounds have been destroyed, and their contents carried away as curiosities, and lost or broken up. It is well that attention has at length been called to the subject, and it may be hoped that enough may be rescued from destruction to serve as a helpful guide in the exploration of the obscure but interesting science of the older American archaeology, and also to give some intelligent conjectures respecting the races that inhabited these regions before the advent of the red men. That they were not of our Indian race is quite certain, for the traditions of these tell nothing about the Mound Builders, whose civilization was both higher and generically diverse from their more barbarous successors.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, August, September, 1884. (Cincinnati.) 1. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of John; by Professor W. N. Clarke. 2. Ignatius Loyola; by Rev. J. R. Henderson. 3. Primitive Man; by Prof. E. L. Hicks. 4. The Christian Church Archetype; by Rev. E. J. Fisk. 5. Baptists and Liberty of Conscience; by Henry C. Vedder. 6. The Sources of "The Teaching of the Apostles;" by Prof. J. C. Long. 7. Book Reviews and Notices.

The sixth of the articles in the Baptist Quarterly, on "The Teaching," is a notable illustration of the influence of pre-

possession to modify evidence. Because it seems to show that in the ancient Church the distinction of the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons in the Christian ministry was not only not accepted as of divine authority, but it was probably quite unknown, therefore High-Church Episcopalians must discredit it as either a forgery or the production of an heretical sect. And because it points out an acceptable form of baptism, otherwise than by immersion, therefore the Baptists are in duty bound to show that its authority is very small. It is well known that considerable parts of "The Teaching" are also found in other patristic documents, and therefore it is assumed that the former was drawn from the latter, and of course of later date, and so possessed of comparatively little authority. But it may be urged, on the contrary, that very clearly the more brief and simple document, which indicates a less fully developed liturgical tendency, is the original and more trustworthy paper. Expert testimony is at best of not the highest value; and when it is known that the affiant comes to his duty with strong predilections toward one side rather than the other, his opinion becomes comparatively worthless. In this case, therefore, both prelatists and immersionists must be asked to stand aside as disqualified for judging on the points at issue.

CATHOLIC WORLD, (Monthly,) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Mexico of To-day; by Bryan J. Clinche. 2. Is the American Republic an Anomaly in History? by Thomas Felton. 3. A Tragi-Comedy; by Maurice F. Egan. 4. The Last Night of a Martyr; by M. A. Allies. 5. Phillis Wheatley, the Negro Poetess; by Rev. John Slatterly. 6. The Agotac of the Pyrenean Provinces; by E. Raymond-Barker. 7. A Lesson of Life; by A. Repplier. 8. The Irish Words of Shakespeare; by C. M. O'Keefe. 9. Katharine, chaps. v, vi; by E. G. Martin. 10. The Religion of Ancient Egypt; by Rev. J. Nilan.

August.—1. Solitary Island, chaps. i-iv; by Rev. J. Talbot Smith. 2. Phases of Faith and Unfaith. 3. Ta-wan-dah, the Last of the Pecos; by Very Rev. J. H. Defouri. 4. Two Miraculous Conversions from Judaism; by Rev. A. F. Hewitt. 5. Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh; by Margaret F. Sullivan. 6. Cattle Ranch Life in Colorado; by W. T. Larned. 7. Ruskin, as a Teacher; by Agnes Repplier. 8. Katharine, chaps. vii-ix; by E. G. Martin. 9. The Cost of Monarchy and Aristocracy in Great Britain; by W. F. Dennehy. 10. Who Could have Taken it? 11. New Publications.

September, 1884.—1. Contemporaneous China; by Alfred M. Cotte. 2. My Staff of Age, (from the Celtic;) by Alfred M. Williams. 3. Philistia; by Maurice F. Egan. 4. Unitarian Belief; by H. L. Richards. 5. Solitary Island, chaps. v-viii; by Rev. J. Talbot Smith. 6. With the Carlists; by John Augustus O'Shea. 7. The Oratory in London; by Mrs. Charles Kent. 8. Katharine, chaps. x-xii; by E. G. Martin. 9. The Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius; by L. B. Binnse. 10. New Publications.

The article on the "Blood of St. Januarius" is characteristic, and proves what we have said in another place, that the Church

of Rome abates nothing of its highest and most absurd pretensions of a thousand years ago. Probably there is no more patent falsehood in all the list of "lying wonders" by which the Romish Church beguiles its unreasoning dupes than this St. Januarius affair; but still it will not do for an "infallible" Church to confess its own past impositions, nor will it forego its gains, and therefore the falsehood must be perpetuated and reiterated. The victims of these practices may be entitled to our pity; but quite another sentiment must be entertained toward those who love and make a lie.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (London.)—1. Mr. Browning. 2. Italian University Life in the Middle Ages. 3. Privileges and Aristocracy. 4. John Wycliffe, Precursor of the Reformation. 5. The Speculative Philosophy of Religion. 6. Natural Law in the Spiritual World. 7. English Policy in the Sudan and Egypt. 8. Political Survey of the Quarter. 9. Contemporary Literature.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (American Edition,) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Municipal London. 2. Modern Spanish Literature. 3. The Romance and Reality of American Railroads. 4. Peter the Great. 5. England and her Second Colonial Empire. 6. The Three Poems. "In Memoriam." 7. Greek Archaeology: Mr. Fergusson's Parthenon, and Temple of Diana. 8. The West Indies and the Sugar Bounties. 9. Redistribution and Representative Democracy. 10. Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Policy.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, OR CRITICAL JOURNAL, (American Edition,) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Memoirs of M. de Vitrolles. 2. Lightning Conductors. 3. The Chiefs of Grant. 4. The Divorce of Catharine of Aragon. 5. Life of Mont Stuart Elphinstone. 6. The Future of Congo. 7. Life and Opinions of Frederic Maurice. 8. John Sebastian Bach. 11. Heffter's International Law.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1884. (London.)—1. The Old Testament and Human Sacrifices; by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Belfast. 2. The Life and Works of Torquato Tasso; by Rev. Hugh Maxmillan, D.D., LL.D., Greenock. 3. The Rev. Adolph Sydow and the Scottish Church Question: A Resuscitation; by Principal Cairns, Edinburgh. 4. Protestant Missions: Their Ideal and its Realization; by John Robson, D.D., Aberdeen. 5. The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions; by Rev. A. A. Hodge, LL.D., Princeton, N. J. 6. Professor Robertson Smith's Lectures on the Prophets of Israel; by Rev. I. E. Dwinell, D.D., Oakland, Cal. 7. Wiclif and Huss; by Principal Brow, Aberdeen. 8. Samuel Rutherford; by Professor Graham, D.D., London. 9. Current Literature.

The fifth of the last list of articles, by Rev. A. A. Hodge, of Princeton, is a reprint from the (American) Presbyterian Review of April last, and was written and published, it may be presumed, with the expectation that it would somewhat influence the action of the then approaching Pan-Presbyterian Council, that met in Belfast last August. The first meeting

of that Council, in 1876, brought into notice the two facts, before very well known, (1) that most of the Presbyterian Churches and denominations, both those in Europe and in America, are at one in most of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and yet that within this general unity there is, nevertheless, very considerable differences in the modes of defining their common doctrinal opinions; and (2) that in the popular teaching of nearly all Presbyterian Churches their distinctive doctrines are seldom or never heard, and that many of both the ministry and the laity of these Churches feel that their traditional creeds are not in harmony with their religious thinking. The recognition of these things led to the attempt to have their objectionable features removed, by providing a "*Consensus of Doctrines*," which would express the real convictions of the Presbyterians of the present age, and to which all classes and sections of that order of Christians might freely and heartily consent. A committee was accordingly appointed to prepare such a basis of agreement, for the consideration of the next quadrennial Council, but, as might have been expected, the only practical result was the discovery that the work given them could not be done. All felt the infelicities of the case, but nobody could find out a remedy.

Presbyterianism, though originally only a form of ecclesiastical polity, has become by usage synonymous with Calvinism, and accordingly, among the requisites for admission to the Council was the profession of the Calvinistic faith; and it was conceded that the various symbols of doctrines of the so-called "Reformed" Churches of the continent of Europe, together with the Westminster Confession, may be accepted as embodiments of that system of doctrine. It might have seemed, therefore, that with such a substantial unity in their original doctrinal standards a common basis might have been readily agreed upon, but the difficulty was found to be of another kind. The convictions of the great body of the Presbyterians, throughout the world, are no longer in harmony with the doctrines that were firmly held by their theological ancestors, and which are set forth with unmistakable clearness in their creeds and confessions. The distinctive doctrines of the Presbyterian Churches, as defined in their official formularies of faith, and as they were clearly announced in public and private down to the

time of the grandparents of the present generation, are no longer heard from their pulpits, and their ministers have either departed from the faith of their fathers, or else they have consented to hide in silence what they believe to be the truth of God. These facts place those Churches in a most undesirable dilemma; either they must revise their creeds, which nobody accepts in their obvious grammatical sense, so as to conform to the beliefs of those who use them, which it is conceded is impossible—and so the public teachings of the Churches must be something quite another than that which their official creeds confessedly set forth, which would involve an immorality, or else they must torture the plain and unmistakable language of the confessions that it shall convey meanings which the authors of those venerated forms knew only to reject and execrate, which is scarcely less objectionable. The former of these methods is that adopted by the great body of Presbyterian ministers, and one no longer expects to hear the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism from any Presbyterian pulpit. The other alternative, which Dr. Hodge seems to approve, is to force a construction upon the words used, in open contradiction to both their grammatical and their historical meaning. This has been formally done by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, so that while the Confession, to the unsophisticated reader, teaches high Calvinism, the grave divines assure us that it really means just what Arminians have always been teaching.

We are bound whenever possible to give to every man credit for sincerity, which we do in this case, otherwise we might suspect a lack of candor in those who claim that the whole category of evangelical doctrines, commonly designated “the doctrines of grace,” belong as a special possession to Calvinism. The doctrine of original sin, with its entailment of universal condemnation, and of entire hopelessness except through the *prevenient* grace of the Spirit, belongs to Wesleyan Arminianism as really as to Calvinism, and therefore these doctrines and all that they imply must be excluded from the *differentia* which contradistinguish the two systems. In a properly guarded sense non-Calvinists may subscribe to the doctrine of “election” and “predestination,” but not as *unconditional decrees*. The divine sovereignty is as precious a truth to

others as to Calvinists; but with those that sovereignty involves nothing of the character of a remorseless despotism. Properly understood, Arminians will not hesitate to say that only through "regenerating" grace actually received can any man repent and turn to God; but they will also say that this "preventing grace" by which the sinner turns to God is itself an incipient regeneration, and that this is given to every man "to profit withal." The real difference between the two systems is that one asserts that grace is both unconditional in its workings and irresistible in its progress; that God alone is active in man's salvation, which is perfected without human co-operation, except as such action is irresistibly compelled.

Both Calvinists and Arminians hold and teach the doctrine of the freedom of the will; but while the former hold to only a *modal* freedom, moving only as impelled *ab extra*, the latter believes in a real self-determination, which may be *persuaded*, but cannot be *compelled*.

It may be granted that philosophically and logically Calvinism may be a simpler and even a more rationalistic system than its opposite; but the ultimate outcome of its logic is too horrible to be contemplated. It certainly is no part of the theology of the heart, and it is well that it is no longer heard in the pulpits of evangelical Christendom.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (WESLEYAN,) July, 1884. 1. Free Education. 2. A French Critic on Democracy. 3. The Sunday-school System of Methodism. 4. Lord Lyndhurst. 5. Aid to Preaching. 6. Holiness and Righteousness. 7. Frederic Denison Maurice. 8. General Gordon. 9. Short Reviews and Brief Notices. Summaries of Foreign Periodicals.

THE first article in the above, manifestly the production of a pen pretty well known by American Methodist readers, for his speech "bewrays" him, is a strangely sophistical, one-sided, and incorrect tirade against "free education," as established in this country, and in the more liberally governed States of Europe. It is fallacious, because it assumes that all public provisions for private convenience or advantage is an injustice to the taxpayer and a degradation to the receiver—a principle which, if applied at all points, would not only do away with free sittings in places of worship, and all forms of endowments for religious or benevolent purposes, except as paid for at full cost, but would also require that there shall be no free highways or bridges, but that tolls shall every-where be levied and collected, in propor-

tion to the cost of making and maintaining such "improvements." Clearly the principle so applied proves too much, and any conclusion drawn from it is wholly unreliable. The facts or assumptions of the article, where not untrue, give only one side of the cases brought into notice, and the omission or ignoring of the facts which belong to the subjects in hand render the presentation of the case wholly untruthful, and the conclusions worthless because essential factors are omitted from the problem. The statements of what are assumed to be facts, especially in respect to matters connected with the workings of the public school system of this country, are in many cases so entirely incorrect as to deprive them of any value as grounds of argument. Evidently there is an animus in the article that springs from some unrevealed cause which, at our distance, cannot be clearly understood. Possibly our school system would not be the very best for Great Britain, and if not they do well not to adopt it; but the best friends of education very generally approve it, not as faultless, but the best available for our people, and, so believing, who shall deny us the privilege of using it?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Company, Philadelphia.) 1. Codification of English Law: A Prospect. 2. The Myth of Simon Magus. 3. Corea. 4. The Christian Harem. 5. The River Congo, and the Proposed Congo Treaty. 6. William IV. 7. The Woman Question in Europe. Contemporary Literature: 1. Theology. 2. Philosophy. 3. Politics, Sociology. Voyages and Travels. 4. Science. 5. History and Biography. 6. Belles-Lettres. Our Colonial Empire.

The Westminster has long stood in the foremost rank of the periodical literature of the English language, in respect to learning and literary ability, but it is always intensely, and, indeed, offensively, anti-Christian. Usually each number has its specifically infidel paper, which place in this issue is occupied by the second article, "The Myth of Simon Magus." It is of that class of writings whose absurd fallaciousness was demonstrated and rendered ridiculous by the late Archbishop Whately in his "Myth of Napoleon Bonaparte."

The article on "The Christian Harem" is a scathing exhibition of the soullessness of the popular morality respecting masculine unchastity. It might serve as a "campaign document" in the current canvass; and as such our specially pure-spoken dailies would perhaps refuse to print it.

INDIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (Calcutta.)—1. The Hindus in the Punjab; by Denzil C. Ibbetsen, (Lahore.) 2. Salt Consumption and Revenue; by Rev. S. Mateer, (Trevandrum.) 3. Christianity in Eastern Bengal; by the Editor. 4. Krishna Pariksha, or Krishna Tested; by Rev. J. J. Lucas, (Moinpuri.) 5. A Missionary Charge to a General Assembly of Ministers and Missionaries; by Rev. H. Jessup, D.D., (Syrian Mission.) 6. Notices of Books. 7. Notes and Intelligence.

LA NUOVA SCIENZA, Anno I, Fasciola II, Aprile, Maggio, Giugno, 1884. (Tode-Umbria.) 1. Il Benvenuto degli Scienziati a Noi. 2. L'Ordinero Pensiero Italiano. 3. La Formula Pitagorica della Cosmica Evoluzione. 4. L'Evoluzione Anticlericale Germanica Confrontata con l'Italiana. 5. Nota Filosofiche della Singole Scienze. Notizie Bibliografiche. Varieta.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1884. Fourth Number.—*Essays*: 1. LOOPS, The Importance of the Doctrine of Justification in the Defense of the Symbolics of the Lutheran Churches. 2. SMEND, The Significance of the Jerusalem Temple in the Old Testament Religion. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. MEINKE, The Platonic and New Testament Idea of the *δαίμονες*. 2. WARTH and LÖCKLE, On the *ἄρχος ἐπιούσιος* in the Lord's Prayer. *Reviews*: KÖLLING, History of the Arian Heresy; reviewed by MÖLLER.

KIRCHLICHE MONATSSCHRIFT, (Church Monthly.) 1884. Ninth Number.—1. STÖCKER, The Church and Politics. 2. EISELEN, The Duty of our Protestant Church of the Present and the "Positive-Union Party." 3. MARTIUS, The Special Task of the Home Mission in the Newly-awakened Conflict against Drunkenness. 4. KROMPHARDT, The "Proof-Bible." 5. Spring Meeting of the Friends of the "Positive-Union" in Halle in Saxony. Monthly Review.

Prof. Smend, of Basle, has a very interesting article in the *Studien und Kritiken* on "The Significance of the Jerusalem Temple in the Old Testament Religion." With no other sacred place in the world has there been connected so much devotion, veneration, and love as the Jew cherished toward Mount Zion. For never has any religious community felt with more intensity and warmth than the Jewish, and never had any sacred spot more significance than this, for the religious life. Without it neither were the growth nor the continuance of that community conceivable which was formed in Judea after the Babylonian exile. But it is impossible to have a proper conception of this piety after the exile without closely considering its manifold relation to the temple. And furthermore, the history of the temple is far from being the history of the Old Testament religion. Nevertheless, it is useful, for the proper comprehension of this question, to inquire how the

temple gained its immense importance, and how this, at a later period, was lost. These are the points that are discussed at great length and with marked acumen in this article. The author endeavors to show in the history of the temple how its great worth for the peculiarity of the Old Testament religion came to be expressed, and how, on the other hand, the temple became a mighty vehicle of religious life.

Toward the close of the discussion the author makes the assertion that Mount Zion was the most important reality which the true faith possessed on earth. When the temple had fallen into ruins, it appeared how greatly this sacred mountain was the central point, even for the prophets, and an anchor of their hopes for the future. The ancient people and the ancient state were forever annihilated; for that period, at least, their restoration was inconceivable. Nothing but a religious community could arise from the ruins which was necessarily to be cemented by worship around Mount Zion, and, though the Jews still hoped for the worldly rule of Israel, it was impossible to expect to produce this by a development of political power; but Israel thought it had a glorious *future* before it as the only possessor of the true faith. By the conversion of all the heathen, Jerusalem was to become the most magnificent city of the entire world, in which should live a nation of nothing but kings. In the interim the temple was to be no longer the most important support of Judaism. This support was now to be transferred to the sacred writings; that is, to the law and the prophets. They had found in the written word of God a higher and better guarantee for the faith than even the temple and Mount Zion could lastingly offer them. Therefore the existence of Judaism was not called into question by the fall of the temple. But the fulfillment of the hope of a Messiah was thereby removed to a great distance, and thereby zealotry was suppressed, while Judaism lost the last remnant of its political character, and became confessedly nothing but a religious sect. The thought of the temple and Jerusalem then retained its significance only for the future; for the Jewish future can never dispense with this hope. The fall of the temple was, nevertheless, in the highest degree fatal to Judaism, for with it was connected the central thought and moving principle of the spiritual life of the Jews.

Another characteristic article for this Review is that concerning the true meaning of the Greek words, *ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος*, used in the Lord's Prayer for our ordinary expression of "*daily bread*." Nearly fifty years ago an article in this same journal by a German theologian spoke of the many heroes of philological and theological learning who have written largely regarding the true conception of this word. And from that time to this it seems that discussion and controversy have not been able to settle and absolutely fix its true definition. This is the author's apology for venturing on another effort to find out the exact meaning of that one word. To do this he enters the etymological field and marshals up a number of words which may or may not have had an influence on the true significance of the one now used in the Greek text of the Lord's Prayer.

We cannot undertake to follow the author in this intricate and learned excursus, but will simply say that the trouble of German theologians seems to be the uncertainty as to whether the expression "*daily bread*" means simply the food of the current day or the food that we need *day by day*. The author contends that the term at present used in the Greek indicates the bread required for the day on which the prayer is uttered, and maintains also that this expression is more in harmony with the Lord's Prayer as our *daily* morning prayer than any other. And he goes on to say: "One could, indeed, pray for the *daily needed* food and that for the future, but if we pray for the bread for the present commencing day we are thereby admonished that to-morrow we must again offer the same prayer, confining that to the new day." The author has no sympathy with the explanation of some theologians, that this "*daily bread*" refers to spiritual food, and declares this to be a monstrous perversion of language. He insists that the petition is made absolutely for, and in regard to, bodily nourishment, and is thereby strengthened in his conception of the true meaning of the word "*daily*." The author also appeals to Luther's translation, which indicates simply the bread required for the current day, and cannot be understood as extending beyond that, and suggests the probability that the use of the word in question indicates that our Saviour pronounced this prayer in the early morning.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) May, 1884.—1. ASTIE, The Fear of the Protestant Principle in the Ranks of French Protestantism. 2. E. W., A Psychological Critic. 3. SABATIER, M. Pasteur. 4. E. DE PRESSENSE, Review of the Month.

June, 1884. 1. FALLOT, The Piety which Protests. 2. BRIDEL, Determinism and the Religion of the Present Epoch. 3. ***, A Visit to Maennedorf. 4. PRADEZ, Tear and Dew—a Poem. 5. GUERLE, Necrology. Review of the Month.

July, 1884.—1. ST. ANDRE, The Conquest of Africa. 2. CLOTILDE REY, Some of the Pictures of the Last Salon. 3. STAPIER, Theological Chronicles. 4. Bibliographical Bulletin. Monthly Review by E. DE PRESSENSE.

The present numbers of the *Revue* are more than ordinarily marked for their special attention to popular and practical subjects. The hero of the hour among the French scientific experimenters is M. Pasteur, to whom Sabatier, in the May number, pays a very flattering tribute. The life of the great scientist has just been given to the world in a small volume, entitled "History of a Learned Man by an Ignorant One." The author is not named, but the attribute which he so modestly assumes indicates him to be the son-in-law, companion, and assistant of the distinguished savant. Thus the complete familiarity between the author and his subject enables the former to be a perfect mouth-piece for the latter, and to present him to the world just as he is, and acts, and thinks.

One day at the Academy of Sciences, one of Pasteur's colleagues, while hearing him explain the mode of some of his marvelous discoveries, involuntarily exclaimed: "That is a romance; it is too beautiful to be true!" Experience has since converted the skeptic, and has proved that in the line of wonders the science of to-day is more fertile than imagination; and Pasteur, after a long line of struggles and trials, has come out quite triumphant in developing a new order of existences hitherto unsuspected by the world. He commenced his peculiar line of experiments in the matter of decomposition and fermentation, and as the result of a series of simple and exact experiments he perceived in each fermentation the existence and action of vegetations, or microscopic beings, that accomplish this transformation. But these infinitely little existences are a mystery. Whence do they come? Are they formed of themselves, or do they proceed from germs? And thus Pasteur found himself face to face with the problem of spontaneous

generations. While absorbed with these studies the first chemist of France begged him to examine the disease of the silk-worms. This he did with so much success that silk growers are now able by means of the microscope to separate the diseased eggs from the healthy, and thus to cultivate only what is valuable. His next experiments were on the blood of diseased animals, and in these he ultimately found that the principle of the virus is an animalecule, which he denominates a microbe. He again finds out an antidote to this virus, and with it inoculates the infected animals. Thus by vaccine matter Pasteur becomes master of most of the diseases that are the enemy of the stock-raiser; and it is said that to-day, in France, more than 400,000 head of cattle are inoculated. For a long time surrounding European nations were incredulous as to his discoveries, but Huxley finally declared that their value to France would alone suffice to pay the five milliards of war indemnity to Germany.

Since that time Pasteur has extended his investigations to epidemic diseases of the human system, and the most incredulous have been obliged to yield to the evidence of facts. The savant is now pursuing his studies, making the yellow fever, the cholera, and hydrophobia the special subjects of his investigation. His very last triumph was a victory over the latter disease, for he is now inoculating members of the canine race with an antidote to their most terrible disease, and he seems confident of success. Sabatier, the author of this article, while treating it historically and scientifically, has, nevertheless, uppermost in his mind the very interesting fact to a Christian man that this great savant is not a materialist, and this is his very logical reason for treating at large a subject that at first sight may not seem to be at home in the pages of a religious magazine. But Pasteur was recently honored with an election to the most distinguished literary body of France, namely, the French Academy, and on the occasion of his induction to that body he made a most magnificent profession of spiritual and religious faith—virtually asking the question why genuine science should not be religious. The microscope of Pasteur has revealed to us the unknown world of the infinitely small, as the telescope and astronomical calculations have revealed to us the world of the infinitely great. And as Pasteur has pro-

ceeded from triumph to triumph with his microscope, guided by an almost inspired genius, he has seen more and more of a divine Creator whose all-pervading power reaches a depth of littleness incomprehensible to man. The Christian world in France finds with him strong support, for which it fully honors him.

The Monthly Review of the July number indicates that its author accepts with great satisfaction the recent action of the Senate on the new law of divorce, recently passed by both sections of the parliamentary body. One very offensive article in the civil code of France was that declaring that the husband might commit adultery with impunity. When the new law was first presented to the Senate for discussion, an attempt was made to have this disgraceful clause erased, but it was retained, after a bitter discussion, by quite a large majority. When the law came up for a second reading, Pressensé again offered an amendment abolishing this clause, which was strongly supported by other senators, to whom the idea that there should be a morality of one sex different from that of the other was quite revolting, although the sentiment of it seemed deeply inrooted in French manners. The partisans for the immunity of the stronger sex showed great irritation in the course of the discussion, and were strongly supported by the loose and immoral press. But the result was on the side of justice.

The semi-official synod of the "Reformed Church" of France recently held its annual convocation at Nantes. More than four hundred churches were regularly represented. A very excellent spirit, one of large piety and good accord, reigned during the entire session; a very pleasant feature of which was the fact that the "free Churches" of France, Switzerland, England, and America were also represented by delegates, who came with generous sympathies and kind words, and were warmly welcomed. This semi-official synod is called so because it is a voluntary combination of the orthodox portion of the "Reformed Church," and therefore its acts are binding only on those who choose to become members of that body. As this synod grows in importance and numbers it feels more and more the need of a complete independence from the State. But this can be gained only at the risk of losing its portion of the annual appropriations. To supplement these, eighty

thousand francs were collected last year for the cause of education and for subventions to those whom the State too meagerly pays. There was a growing disposition among the members of the body to train their churches as rapidly as possible to the point of effecting a deliverance from the State by raising their own funds and paying their own way in independence.

ART. XI.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF FRANCE.

THIS now famous association for the spread of French Protestantism held its recent annual meeting in Marseilles; and the contrast between its early beginnings and its present stature and vigor is very gratifying. In the year 1833, when there seemed to be a religious awakening and inquiry after the true faith, an anonymous letter in the "*Archives du Christianisme*" brought together a few believing men who founded an association whose object was declared to be the spread of the Gospel in France. And this young society found unexpected sympathy and co-workers, not only in France, but also in foreign lands, such as Switzerland, England, Ireland, and America. Branch associations soon sprang up in other French cities, and Protestants, of whose existence men had no suspicion, were discovered by the messengers of this body, and frequently entire families and groups were discovered through the pastoral work and again united to the Protestant Church, and conversions from the Catholic Church also gave testimony that the power and blessing of God were with this people.

But these joyful results were not without antagonism and trouble, which, however, became, in the hands of God, the means of a deeper experience. The French Protestants were poor, and their needs were beyond their means. A deficit occurred from year to year which has followed them down to the present day, but in their darkest hour Providence has ever been to them both silver and gold. What was more unfortunate for them was the persecution from the state authorities. The principle of religious liberty was acknowledged in theory, but in practice was withheld from this very small Protestant minority. Their meetings were forbidden or violently dissolved, their itinerant evangelists and colporteurs were punished with fine and imprisonment, and every pressure and inducement was brought to bear in order to force back their converts into the Catholic Church. These vexatious and unlawful proceedings were continued under the *régime* of the third Napoleon, under whom the friendship of the Catholic clergy was the *sine qua non* for political preferment. In spite of all this the development of the association was rapid and healthy; the first three years its income arose

from 7,000 to 48,000 francs, and the number of active workers from 11 to 51. Chapels were opened in a great variety of places. But the joyful increase of the association received a hard blow after ten years of existence. The insufficient income forced a reduction of the active agents, and for a time the enemies triumphed.

But the Lord was again with them, and in the following year the union counted again 77 colporteurs, evangelists, and pastors in its service, and a year later not less than 137. The gospel spirit seized whole families, and at times whole communities. Then came the revolution of 1848, with its anxieties and financial depression; the society was almost ruined. But in the epoch of their greatest need a sincere friend gave them about 100,000 francs, and other gifts came to them even from distant Russia. The Napoleonic period was one of vexatious and brutal outrages; not even a religious meeting was allowed without the sanction of the police, and their schools, chapels, and other places of assemblage were violently closed. This lasted for some ten years, and all without any justice, or cause, or judicial decision. Then, as did the Huguenots of old, so did they hold their divine service in retired forests. The faithful were determined to hold their ground in spite of all the disadvantages which they were called on to suffer, and they remained faithful till the end. But at last this period of hostility passed by. In the year 1863 M. V. de Pressensé, who had become old and wearied, laid down his leadership, which was taken up by the faithful and active George Fish, and held until his death in 1881. Now, after fifty years of activity, the association is in a very flourishing condition, and may God bless its future work in France!

A NEW LEAGUE IN SWITZERLAND.

For the last few years Switzerland has experienced a great deal of trouble with her churches and her schools. About a year and a half ago the Salvation Army opened there its campaign, which has contributed not a little to this agitation and irritation. The antagonism in Switzerland between the National Church and the Free Church, as well as the various sectarian organizations, render it a soil where such an innovation might count on success, and in the beginning these Salvationists met with more countenance than was acceptable to the earnest Christians of the land. But as soon as they began their noisy public demonstrations, they were violently opposed by all who were indifferent or hostile to Christianity, and the result was violence on the public street and attacks on the houses wherein the Salvation meetings were being held; and this spirit of violence finally so excited the unruly that even innocent temperance meetings were the victims of attack and outrage. The cantonal and police authorities remained for a time indifferent to these excesses, but at last they were forced to take cognizance of them and forbid their meetings. In this latter measure they went so far as to prohibit their assembling in private houses, which gave rise to the

conviction that the free exercise of religion in Switzerland might ultimately be endangered by this measure.

All this induced a number of liberal Christian men of French Switzerland to assemble in Lausanne and establish a "League of Common Justice" that is to extend over all Switzerland. The object of this League is, according to its statutes, "The defense of individual liberty and of all those rights which are guaranteed by the Swiss Constitution." It belongs to no political or religious party, and will reach its goal through the press, public meetings, and all constitutional ways and means. It has published a long list of all occurrences and excesses that have taken place at these Salvation meetings, and have sent it to the national authorities, and it hopes that they may be induced to listen to these complaints and take measures for the exercise of religious liberty in Switzerland, which it now considers endangered. In principle every earnest Christian is in sympathy with the desire of liberty of conscience and religious exercise in Switzerland, but many greatly deplore the *modus operandi* of the Salvation Army. Article 50 of the national Constitution declares that "The free exercise of religious worship is guaranteed within those limits which are conducive to public order and good morals." But it is questionable whether public order, at least, is not greatly disturbed by the demonstrations of the Salvation Army, and it is therefore a question whether this League will find its labor crowned with success.

CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE IN POMPEII.

The fearful earthquake last year in Ischia called forth endless ways as a means to gather funds for the relief of the suffering. Some 5,000,000 of francs were collected from public lectures, dramatic festivals, lotteries, balls, concerts, etc., until at last all means of attraction were exhausted. Then an unheard-of enterprise was started which was nothing less than a "Pompeii Redivivus." In the great amphitheater among the ruins the gladiator fights of ancient times were restored, as well as the circus sports, wedding processions, and the funeral trains of the ancients, in which way the heathendom of old was again represented in images of the gods, with pagan priests and vessels for incense, and libations. Even the celebrated chariot races were restored, and the "Emperor Vespasian" condescended to be present at these sports. But the expense for all this was very heavy, amounting to 100,000 francs, while this new style of Christian benevolence only realized 30,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 70,000, for which the "aristocratic committee" now remains responsible. So Christianity has not gained much by this revival of heathen sports; and indeed, from recent discoveries, it was never much indebted to the gods of classic story.

From some of the most recent excavations among the ruins it seems quite clear that the inhabitants of Pompeii were acquainted with Christianity; and that they knew something of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, appears from some of the fresco wall-paintings there uncovered.

One of these clearly refers to the Bible story of the judgment of King Solomon, the scene of which is represented thus in detail: The King is seated clothed in a white toga, with an upheld scepter in his left hand; on either side stands a minister, one clothed in a white toga, while the other is covered with a green garment. The chairs of these three are on a sort of terrace, behind which is a canopy, and soldiers are holding guard near by. On a table lies the child for whose possession the two mothers are contending. Near by is a soldier ready to execute the command of Solomon to cleave the child in two. Near the table is standing the false mother with a brazen expression, while the real mother is on her knees with uplifted hands appealing to the king. Standing round about is quite a crowd of people gazing curiously at the scene. And now the question arises why an artist of Pompeii should have been induced to depict a scene from the Bible. Was he a Christian or a Jew? A close inspection of the work will induce us to say that he was neither, for the whole is evidently a caricature. The principal personages of the scene are represented as pygmies, with large heads, plump bodies, and short legs. The table on which the child is lying is a butcher's block, the child itself is a distortion, and the butcher has a common cleaver; even he is represented as half-soldier and half-butcher, with a mighty head covered with an immense helmet, from which depends a stupendous horse-tail, so that the whole figure, and indeed the whole scene, induces laughter. The false mother is an extremely ludicrous figure with a broad countenance, and wearing an immense head-gear. The sorrowing mother seems to have been too much for the genial artist; she alone is free from caricature, to which even Solomon is subjected. If the picture is closely inspected it looks very coarse, and one would say that the artist had endeavored to show his rapidity rather than his skill of execution, but this may be said of many of the Pompeian frescoes, which at a distance appear very artistic. It is a question among archæologists as to whether the artist intended to ridicule the Bible story as such, or whether it was only an outburst of his genial humor, as there are many of just such style of execution on the frescoed walls of the city. But one thing is very certain, and that is, that Christianity was never a success within those walls, not in the olden times as a means of amusement, as it has not been in modern times, as a sort of affected means for the exercise of Christian benevolence.

A REVIVAL AMONG THE CAPUCHIN MONKS.

A remarkable assemblage gathered lately in Rome, such a one as has not been seen there for many years. One hundred and ten Capuchin monks, collected from all quarters of the world, some from America, Hungary, Ireland, and even Africa, held a general chapter for some important elections. The last assemblage of the Capuchins occurred in 1852, and they then elected a Piedmontese as general of the order.

According to the rules of the order, a new election must take place

every six years, and they should have again assembled in 1858. But this was prevented by Pius IX., who seemed to have no great affection for these monks, and preferred to keep them at a distance. He therefore assumed the right of naming the new general, and commanded that they should assemble in general chapter only once in twelve years. At the close of this period the pope again ratified the former election without consulting the order, or even calling them together, and when this general died, in 1873, he appointed another general *motu proprio*.

The dissatisfaction of the Capuchins at this invasion of their rights and this violation of their independence was very great, but they did not venture to offer any resistance.

Leo XIII., however, declared that the order should again assume its full standing, and they were called to a conclave in their great Mission House in Rome. A German-Swiss friar was elected general, a Bavarian as assistant general, and a French monk as second assistant. Among the voters was the venerable figure of the Friar Massaja, who returned to his home last year after an absence of thirty years, as missionary among the Galas. He will soon publish a book in Florence which will describe the missionary work of the Capuchins in Africa. At the present time the order is working in an extremely broad sphere of labor; in Brazil, India, Australia, the Argentine Republic, and Africa; no order has so broad a mission field, but it is a singular fact that while developing its power outside of Europe, it is comparatively without significance in the focus of the Catholic world, where its brilliancy disappears before that star of first magnitude, the Order of the Jesuits. Even the Propaganda takes little interest in the mission work of the Capuchins, and gives to the mission stations of their order but very little financial aid. They are bidden as mendicant monks to accustom themselves to privation, and get their living, where possible, from those among whom and for whom they labor.

ART. XII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE present pontiff seems quite inclined to unlock the secrets of the archives of the Vatican, which have hitherto been firmly sealed, at least to all profane eyes. A few months ago he sent a circular to the principal curators of these archives to institute the most searching studies into these treasures. This circular seems to have been attended with the best of results. Cardinal Hergenröther, the archivist of the pontifical chair, has just given to the world the first volume of the documents of the reign of Leo X., of which there are no less than 2,348, which are said to have been issued during a few months' reign of this pope. This volume is the work of men of various shades, who have been summoned by the cardinal as co-operators, and who have carefully examined 230 volumes and manuscripts, some of which were found outside of the Vatican

Library. It is said that twelve volumes of this kind are to follow in quick succession, and the second one is to reveal the history of the German Reformation. The Hungarian clergy are showing a very great zeal in this line, and have just published the first two volumes of their collection, entitled the "Vatican Documents of the Kingdom of Hungary."

A famous German commentator has just perfected an instructive study on "Luther as an Expositor of the Old Testament." Prof. Zöckler in this work treats of the theoretical and practical value of the greatest work of Luther in this field, which is found in his printed lectures on Genesis, delivered on various occasions from 1536 to 1545. He shows that Luther acknowledged and maintained the necessity of close grammatical and historical exposition, in contradistinction to some of his predecessors, but that in the dogmatical interpretation he took a wide field and quite often erred in his allegorical demonstrations. From this he infers that the actual expository worth is not very great, and that its significance lies in its theological and ecclesiastical direction. Zöckler finds therein a rich treasure for dogmatics and polemics against the errors of the Romish Church and of the enthusiasts, and shows what an inexhaustible mine for Christian ethics and worldly wisdom these lectures contain, as well as information regarding the significant events and words of celebrated men. Zöckler's valuable document closes with a few hints as to the effect of this commentary on the exegesis of Genesis, and considers it the ripest work of the Reformer in the field of Scripture exposition.

The Bible Society of France distributed last year 35,344 Bibles or sections of the Bible in France, Algiers, and Numidia. In this work it spent 50,000 francs, and at the same time by great energy wiped out its deficit of 15,000 francs. But it then reported a new gap in the treasury to the amount of 16,000 francs, incurred in the production and printing of the revised Bible, to cover which the friends of the Bible in France are again appealed to by Bersier and Berg, Piccard and Recolin, the text of whose addresses was: "Remain, as were your fathers, a people of the Bible." The Tract Society was also very active during the year last past in impressing the very important principle that in the distribution of small religious documents their weight consists in the quality of what is offered more than in the quantity. The directors of the society, at their annual meeting, strongly emphasized the desire that as much as possible the tracts should be sold and not given away, as the people prize and examine what they had paid for with their own money more than that which had been given to them. The income for the year amounted to 53,146 francs, and the expenses to 54,487. Eighty church societies join in this work. The annual report of the society for the aid of theological students shows an income of 8,402 francs against an outlay of 7,460. As a prize and encouragement to faithful students they receive a savings-bank book with a small credit.

A pamphlet has just been issued in Germany by the Catholic authorities with the title of "The Culture and Education of the Clergy." Some suppose it to be from the hands of a bishop, and others from those of a director of a Catholic Theological Seminary. It undertakes to show with very painful care, by chapters and subchapters and divisions and subdivisions, statistically and historically, theoretically and practically, from the past and the present, that the only profitable development of the young Catholic theologians can come from their education according to Tridentine form in an institution supported by the Church and under the control of the bishop. The life of the German students in the state universities is painted in the darkest colors, while the lightest shades are thrown on that of the incipient priests within the walls of the clerical school. The author frankly confesses that a deeper scientific knowledge and a clearer insight in the inner connection of the sciences may be obtained for their *learned* theologians at the universities. But for the preparation for the cure of souls, learning is much less required than practical piety. The assertion is made that the study of theology rests mainly on authority, and that all necessary knowledge for the exercise of the priestly office may be obtained in the seminaries. The young clericals are there also imbued with patriotism and the love of the fatherland, as well as a high regard for its institutions. An antidote to this work is just announced that proposes to show the necessity of university training for the clergy, but it has not yet reached the public.

The thirteenth volume of the Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology, begun by Dr. Herzog and now continued by Dr. Hauck, has just appeared; and in it we are informed that the work cannot be finished in fifteen volumes, but will probably require seventeen, with the index included. No one will complain of this, as even that number will scarcely be enough to allow room for the large amount of new matter that will necessarily be crowded in the later volumes. The one just issued is a new proof of the scientific excellence of the entire undertaking. Extending from Bishop Ritschl to Scotus, it contains much that is new, especially concerning personalities just deceased, such as Rudelbach, Rückert, Schöberlein, Schubert, and Roth. The work of the ecclesiastical statistics is more than usually valuable, because the most of them are perfectly new; they are mainly from Russia, Saxony, Scotland, and Switzerland. The historical articles have a fullness in some instances not heretofore attained. The Protestant law of divorce is treated quite extensively in accordance with the changes recently made in this field. The author gives a concise and thorough compendium on this subject of forty-six pages. Taken all in all, the volume is worthy of its predecessors. The mechanical execution is also excellent, and the public will owe the publishers hearty thanks for finishing this valuable work in so creditable a way.

A unique addition to the Jewish polemics of the period is found in a modern Epistle to the Hebrews by "Saul." It is one of the most impor-

tant productions which has appeared from the Jewish side of the Jewish question during the later period of the discussion. The author has chosen for himself the name of Saul, and his Semitic and human consciousness equally revolt against this modern Jewry, which is ruled, as he says, by "capitalism;" his Jewish, because among his people there is no unity born of a high idea, and his human consciousness, because their profit is quite sure to be gained by the injury of others. The Jews have received their severest wound in their so-called "emancipation," because it has completely deprived them of their Christian character and has driven them into the worship of said "capitalism." Patriotic earnestness and patriotic hope have inspired the author with the essence of his epistle; and confessions of a similar kind that have lately been often repeated by the Jews belong to the most remarkable and satisfactory signs of the times. A quite important development of this kind is a recent expression of the Jews of southern Russia, bearing the title of "Sowing in Hope." In another work, in thirteen theses, the Jews of a certain district appeal to their fellows to listen to the words of their "Brother Jesus," and thus to seek peace with the nations. These developments are certainly very remarkable.

"Positive Christianity and Orthodox Pietism" is the title of a pamphlet recently issued concerning the unfortunate conflict between two wings of the German Protestant Church. The orthodox Germans claim that these so-called "positive Christians" have not a great deal of positive Christianity, and the object of this publication is an endeavor to make a reconciliation between the thoughtful men of the conservative side and all the earnest minds of the so-called liberal and enlightened side. But the trouble about the pamphlet is that the stand-point of the author lies, not between the parties, but rather in close juxtaposition to the Liberal party. So from the beginning these mediators in the conflict are not impartial. And the same may be said of their theological stand-point. They speak very lightly of the "traditional doctrine" of the Trinity, and declare that the assertions regarding Jesus in the Gospel of John, and in Paul, from which their opponents are led to believe in pre-existence of Jesus, are enigmatical and ambiguous. The pamphlet was written by two hands, one belonging to an intelligent layman and the other to a theologian; but in their effort to make a basis of reconciliation between the right and the left, they use certain expressions indicating that certain gospels are falsely so-called, and take other positions in regard to orthodox theology that are quite incompatible with any idea of mediation. It is not at all probable that this extreme liberal wing of the Christian world of Germany will in this way withdraw any of the bolts that are now closed on them by the orthodox Churches.

Dr. Warneck is becoming the great authority in the German mission field, and at a late Continental Missionary Conference, held in Bremen, his essay on missionary control was, in his absence, read and received with much favor. He is making an effort to have the mission work in

heathen lands as far as possible sustained by the governmental influences of the countries whence the missionaries come. His position is that divisions among the missionaries in their fields of labor, and especially among those from the same land, are prejudicial to the success of the workers. In the course of the debate, induced by the reading of his paper, there was a very general expression of opinion that the tendency to develop missionary work in harmony with his views would be a wholesome one if well guarded; but one of the orators, referring to the early history of missions and the coolness shown toward them by most governments, warned them against being too ready to extend the finger, lest the entire hand be taken.

ART. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Resurrection of Our Bodies that Die. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 123. Eureka, Portland: B. Thurston & Co. 1881.

Outlines of the Doctrine of the Resurrection. Biblical, Historical, and Scientific. By Rev. R. J. COOKE, M.A. With an Introduction by D. D. WHEDON, LL.D. 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Beyond the Grave. Reviewed by L. B. CALDWELL, Professor of Physics in East Tennessee Wesleyan University, Athens, Tenn. 12mo, pp. 152. Philadelphia: A. T. Zeising & Co.

We group these three works together, for notice and brief review, because of their substantial unity of design, and the similarity of their principal arguments, though they differ in some incidental things. The first is without the author's proper name, or other *data* by which its authorship may be known, further than what is given on the title-page. It is well written, in good temper and taste, and—abating somewhat our praise in view of the writer's over-confident dogmatizing, and his readiness to denounce all who dissent from his views as heretics, and, if Methodists, false to their profession—we may call it an altogether commendable piece of work. The second has already been pretty fully represented to our readers, first in an editorial "notice" in these pages, and next by its reviews and commendations in the Church press. It is written in an earnest and florid style, somewhat indicative of the fact that it is its author's first work. The book is, in its literary aspects, a creditable one, and the reader will think well of the writer, though he may not approve his methods of argumentation nor concur in all his conclusions. The third is a review of Bishop Foster's "Beyond the Grave,"

earnestly dissenting from both its methods and conclusions, though praising its style and its dialectic skill at some points. But neither in respect to fairness nor good taste is it altogether satisfactory, and its attempts at ridicule and sarcasm are unworthy of the subject and the occasion.

These writers are all in the same plane of thought, and their presuppositions and processes, and the conclusions to which they come, are substantially identical; and they are also in harmony with the commonly prevalent (especially among the unscholarly) notions upon the subject, to wit, that at some future time the material bodies of all who shall have lived and died of the children of Adam will be rehabilitated and restored to life, to become again the abodes of the souls which from the death of Abel to the great consummation shall have subsisted for longer or shorter terms without such bodies. The writers who defend this notion usually accept some theory by which to surmount its confessed difficulties. Some have supposed the existence of a joint or ganglion which is the center or germ of the bodily identity; and that around this is to be gathered so much of earthy matter as may be needful to constitute a resurrection body. Other theories equally fanciful are well known; but to the credit of the writers now under review, it must be said that they fight shy of such theorizings, and refer the whole matter to the power of God.

In support of their views these writers so accept and apply certain well-known words of Scripture that they necessarily sustain their positions. The word "resurrection," *ἐγερσις* and *ἀνάστασις*, is quietly assumed to signify only the resuscitation of dead bodies, which is simply begging the question at issue, since others give quite another sense to them. In like manner, it is assumed that the resurrection of Christ, of which so much use is made in the apostolic writings, can have no other meaning than the quickening of the body that was laid in Joseph's tomb, and also that the body in which Jesus appeared during the forty days next ensuing did certainly ascend into heaven, where now, "in our nature," (which they understand of his physical body,) he is seated at God's right hand, and thence he will come again in that same material body to judge the world. Of the correctness or otherwise of this exegesis we say nothing; but as it is precisely at this point that objections to the theory of "the resurrection of our bodies that die" comes in, it might be well to give some little attention to these objections. It is claimed by objectors

that the design of what is written in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians was intended to comfort believers with the assurance of the future life, and that by exchanging the word "resurrection" in that place for some word to express simply the future felicity of the saints, would not only meet all the requirements of the language used, but also better preserve the harmony of its ideas; and also obviate the seeming contradiction which is involved in making the declaration that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" mean something wholly different from its natural import.

The resurrection of Christ is certainly among the great central truths of Christianity, whether that fact is accepted as simply implying the bringing to life the body that was crucified, or as something accomplished in the spirit world, where the disembodied Christ spoiled Death in his own dominion, and came forth from his prison a conqueror. This act, performed in *hades*, by our Lord acting in his Messianic character, was itself, say those who account it "THE Resurrection," a work of redemption, which was itself to "the spirits in prison" an assurance of their *ἐγερσις*, "arising." It is not our purpose to either defend or assert the correctness of this exegesis, but only to suggest that till its incorrectness has been shown it will not do to ignore it in a polemical setting forth of an opposite theory.

It is conceded that the physical and literalistic theory of the resurrection and of the future life has all along borne rule in theological statements and in the popular beliefs. It has, accordingly, become embodied in the sermonology and the hymnology of the Church. It was an integral part of the Catholic orthodoxy of the Church of the Middle Ages, and it was accepted almost entirely unchanged by the Protestant Churches of the Reformation. It is quite certain, however, that these views are not so generally or tenaciously held as they were formerly; and not a few of our best scholars, and among them some whose general orthodoxy cannot be impugned, are bold to announce other views and opinions. One of the books under notice directly antagonizes what has been written and published by one of our Bishops, and as that Bishop has not been called to account for what he has written, it may be assumed that the disputed tenet is not considered an integral part of Methodist orthodoxy. It will be wise for disputants on this subject to bear this in mind, and temper accordingly their denunciations of what they are pleased to stigmatize as heresy.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, whose soundness in the faith we will neither assert nor deny, but whose critical ability and exegetical force must be conceded, in a very able paper, published not very long ago in the "Christian Union," discussing anew what he had some time before said more briefly in a Sunday-school lesson on 1 Corinthians xv, reiterates his formerly expressed doubts, and more fully elaborates his own views of the New Testament doctrine of the resurrection. We submit his words, not as our own, but as a statement of the subject entirely in harmony with evangelical Christianity, and not so palpably wrong as to be unworthy of the candid consideration of those who prefer to be right rather than to follow blindly in the "traditions of the fathers."

Having declared against the popular and traditional faith, Dr. Abbott proceeds to say:

My faith, both in what it asserts and what it denies, rests *wholly upon Scripture*. I have no faith in any guesses about the future, nor in any philosophical conclusions, expressed in such forms as, We must suppose, or, We must believe; nor in any mere deductions of feelings expressed in such phrases as, I cannot bear the thought, etc. All that we know or can know about the resurrection is to be gathered by a reverent study of Revelation. What such a study will not teach us we must be content to leave unknown. . . . I do not believe in the resurrection of the body; because I think it is clearly, explicitly, and vigorously repudiated by the word of God.

He then refers to, and quotes from, the Westminster Catechism, the Lesser Catechism, and the Thirty-nine Articles, to show that those venerable standards which have so largely dominated the religious thought of English-speaking Protestantism, all teach the very doctrine that he repudiates and antagonizes, and to their statements he responds:

I believe that Christ did truly rise from death, [the *dead*, *νεκροί*;] but I do not believe that he took his body, flesh and bones, into heaven. I believe that before the ascension his material body underwent the change which Paul foretells for those who are living at the coming of Christ; I believe that Christ is a spirit, and I believe his own declaration to his disciples after his resurrection, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." I believe flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. I believe it is no part of the perfection of man's nature, but his temporary instrument, admirably adapted to his state of pilgrimage, utterly unadapted to his eternal home. And I believe this, as I have said, on what seems to me to be the clear teaching of God's holy word.

After a somewhat extended rehearsal of the arguments *pro* and *con* upon the subject, he closes with the following, with the spirit of which no fault can be found, whatever may be thought of the arguments and conclusions:

That we are to be not unclothed, but clothed upon; that we are to have a glorious body, a spiritual body, a celestial body, a body redeemed from all suffering and sensuous temptation and fleshly sin, all that belongs to flesh and blood, seems to me to be at once the clear revelation of Scripture and the reasonable expecta-

tion of every child of God; for has not our Father taught us, by the wonderful provisions which he has made for our pilgrimage, to expect still greater things in our home? That this incorruptible body may have some now uncomprehended and incomprehensible relation to the physical, earthy, sensuous, decaying tabernacle of our pilgrimage, I see neither reason to affirm nor to deny. Whether God gives us a new garment in place of an old one cast aside, or whether he evolves it out of the cast-off garment as the pure white paper is evolved from the unkempt rags, or the radiant flower from the decaying seed, I do not know, and I am not curious to know. If any one likes to think the latter, and to find in Paul's figure of the seed some ground for this opinion, and in this opinion some justification for repeating the traditional utterance of the Creed, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," I have no dispute with him. But for myself, whenever I join with my brethren in repeating that sublime symbol of the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, the Apostles' Creed, I always substitute for the unscriptural phrase, "The resurrection of the body," this other, the warrant for which both Christ and Paul furnish to the believer:

I BELIEVE IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

The subject is one to be calmly and reverently considered, in the light of God's word; and nothing is to be gained by denouncing any one as a heretic for accepting, in its literal truthfulness, St. Paul's explicit declaration, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

The Life of Christ. By DR. BERNHARD WEISS, Counselor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by M. G. HOPE. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 428. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The concluding volume of Dr. Weiss's "Life of Christ" fully sustains, and indeed enlarges and brightens, the characteristics that have been indicated in the notices of the first and second volumes. The portion of that wonderful story here given covers the last few months of our Lord's ministry, particularly his final and fatal visit to Jerusalem, his triumphant entry, his discourses in the temple, the last passover, the betrayal, trial, and crucifixion, the resurrection, the subsequent abode in the flesh, and the ascension, and in the relation of these all of the writer's peculiarities of manner and style, of thoughts and opinions, are fully brought into view. The same freedom in dealing with the statements of the evangelists that has been noticed in the former volumes is still used, but the heart of the writer is evidently brought into a more lively sympathy with his theme, and accordingly the narrative becomes more tender and exultant.

It may have seemed that the subject of these volumes had been treated with all needful fullness before their appearance, and yet it must be conceded that they make a valuable contribution to that department of Christian literature; and while they should be read only with an intelligent and careful discrimination, yet, if so read, they will prove decidedly and eminently instructive.

The writer's mental stand-point is not that of nearly all English-speaking Protestants, and many will think his views and statements less reverent and conservative; but this very difference may enhance their practical value without damaging the reader's appreciation of the subject in hand. As a review of the evangelistic story, after it has been fully learned from the gospels and considered as collated by some of our admirable lives of Christ, this work will be found both instructive and edifying.

Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Dickinson College. (Revised Edition.) 8vo, pp. 798. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The first edition of Professor Harman's "Introduction" was published five or six years ago, and it at once attracted very considerable attention among biblical scholars. The criticisms that appeared in the periodical press, though not always and in every thing commendatory, still very clearly indicated a decidedly high appreciation of the work. But in respect to Old Testament criticism only a few years marks a wide change, and, to meet the changed condition of the subject, the author has thoroughly revised the whole work for a new edition, devoting especial attention to the Pentateuch. The results of his re-reading of the recent discussions of the subject are embodied in the work as it now stands, so that it may be accepted as "abreast with the times." Having accompanied the critics of the Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith school through all their discussions, and re-examined all their objections, he re-affirms his unchanged conviction that all the books of the Pentateuch, as they now stand, are substantially as Moses wrote them, not including a few editorial notes which are readily recognized as additions. As that whole matter must be determined almost entirely on internal evidence, only the testimony of experts can be used in respect to which form of testimony, whether in the law courts or in criticism, lay folks have come to be somewhat skeptical. As compared with Dr. Terry, (see articles in the last and the present numbers of this "Review,") Dr. Harman is decidedly the more conservative, and, having read the former, and mentally assented to his conclusions, we now find that the latter makes out a good case in favor of some of the long-accepted opinions which the former seems ready to abandon at the behests of the critics.

The changes and additions made for this new edition certainly add very considerably to the value of the work, which, having

already won for itself an advanced position in its own departments of learning, will be able to hold it the more securely by reason of these valuable additions. As a comprehensive manual we know of no other book in the language that so well meets all the requirements of the case.

The Doctrine of Divine Love; or, Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church. By ERNEST SARTORIUS, Doctor of Theology, etc., at Königsberg. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. 8vo, pp. 378. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Ernest Sartorius has, with confessed fitness, been styled the St. John of German Lutheranism. The period of his public activity, extending from 1821, when he first appeared as an author, down to 1856, when he died at the height of his activity, was simultaneous with that of the rise, prevalence, and decline of German rationalism, to combat which was his life-long endeavor. His successive discussions, afterward collected into a single treatise of "*The Doctrine of Divine Love*," constitute his chief title to a place among theological authorities, though his other works were voluminous and important. The ruling thought of this work is that in order to understand and appreciate the revelation which God has made of himself and his purposes in Holy Scripture, the subject must be viewed from the stand-point of divine love; and that although God is manifested in various ways to men's natural understanding, he can be truly apprehended only as he is manifested in Christ, impelled by love to man, "reconciling the world to himself." And from this initial point he proceeds to set forth the great doctrines of the Gospel, following the order of the Augsburg documents, which he fully indorses and explains in their manifest evangelical character and design. The work has not only an historical value as marking a stage in the progress of theological thought in Germany, but is also of perpetual value as an able presentation of the theology of the heart, and that, too, without any admixture of mystical antinomianism, against which it is a decided and emphatic protest.

Christ Preaching to Spirits in Prison; or, Christ Preaching to the Dead Explained by the Change from the Inferior to the Celestial Paradise. By REV. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, South Hadley, Mass. 18mo, pp. 167. Boston: Congregational S. S. and Publishing House.

The famous passage, 1 Peter iii, 19, 20, with its perhaps kindred one in chapter iv, 6, has afforded no little exercise, labor, or amusement to those who fancy obscure passages of Scripture.

Mr. Love has his theory, which is not beyond the bounds of the accepted orthodoxy. The spirits referred to were antediluvians to whom Noah preached, who were abiding in *hades*, (not *gehenna*,) to which Christ came "in the Spirit" after his crucifixion, and there made known to those whom he found there their assured redemption; that somehow this preaching prepared the way for the betterment of their condition when he should have "ascended up on high." Probably the conclusion to which the writer comes is clearer to his own mental vision than he succeeds in making it to the minds of most of his readers.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German by WILLIAM URWICK, M.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature at St. Andrews, with a Preface and Supplementary Notes to the American edition by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Greek Professor in the University of Rochester, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 565. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. \$3.

We have, in noticing other volumes of this edition of Meyer's Commentary, indicated our high appreciation of the work itself, as it came from the hands of its gifted author, and also of the special excellences of this American reprint, with the additions and improvements made in it as compared with the Edinburgh edition; and what was there said will apply without abatement to this additional volume. There seems, indeed, to have existed a peculiar affinity of mind and spirit between the commentator and the work in hand, when he prepared his exegesis of John's Gospel, by which the inner life of the evangelist is drawn out with great beauty and fullness in the Commentary, so constituting it a devotional as well as an intellectual treatise. As will be seen by the title given above, besides the original author, three scholarly hands have united to increase the available value of the book. The double translation is a happy arrangement by which to fully transfer the thoughts expressed in one language into not only the words, but also the idioms and methods of expression, of another, the lack of which is often felt in works only half-way translated out of the German. The American editor, who is well known as no second-rate biblical scholar, has also enriched this edition with many highly valuable critical and illustrative notes, usually appended to each chapter. We again congratulate our American biblical students, and all critical readers of the New Testament, in view of their opportunity to possess, at a comparatively cheap rate, a commentary of such sterling value.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians. By the Late JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis to the United Presbyterian Church. Second edition. Edited by the REV. W. YOUNG, M.A., Glasgow. 8vo, pp. 292. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The name of Dr. Eadie is a sufficient guarantee for both the requisite learning and scholarship and the evangelical orthodoxy of all that he may have written. His commentaries are especially valuable, combining as they do abundant wealth of biblical erudition with the deepest and richest displays of spirituality. His choice of the three epistles—those to the Ephesians, the Philippians, and the Colossians, the eminently spiritual ones—may suggest what were his own religious affinities, which are also abundantly illustrated in his treatment of his chosen subjects; and while in scholarship he will not suffer in comparison with any other in the same field, his profound and clear spiritual insight into and appreciation of the deeper interior purport of the apostolic lessons imparts a special value to his works. Any who may study these commentaries will be sure to be instructed as to the sense of the apostle's words, and if this shall be done with a teachable spirit and a receptive heart the spiritual advantage will not be less marked than the intellectual.

The Apostles' Creed, Tested by Experience. Lectures in the Church of the Messiah, Brooklyn. By C. R. BAKER. 12mo, pp. 133. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The Apostles' Creed is among the most ancient of the post-apostolic writings for the instruction of believers. It is called the "Apostles'" because it is given as an embodiment of the teaching which had come down to its date as the substance of apostolic doctrine, and not, as some have supposed, as a doctrinal statement formulated by the apostles themselves. And though it is so very brief, as compared with some of the creeds of modern times, yet who can say that it fails to set forth, either explicitly or by natural implication, all that it is essential for a Christian to believe for his soul's comfort?

The author of this little volume made the Creed the text, both to direct the course of his public teaching, and to suggest those spiritual instructions which the truths of the Gospel are so well adapted to impart, and to impart which is among the most important designs of the preaching of the Gospel. It is equally valuable for private and devotional study, and especially because it builds its structure of instructions and reproofs and doctrines upon the almost universally accepted truths of religion.

History, Biography, and Topography.

A Catholic Dictionary, containing some Account of the Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church. By WILLIAM E. ADDIS and THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. Third edition. 8vo, pp. 900. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1884.

As it has become the fashion to have dictionaries and cyclopedias of every department of science, or art, or literature, our neighbors of the Roman Catholic Church have also deemed it desirable that their system should have its dictionary; and accordingly the goodly volume whose title stands at the head of this article is the response to that requirement. Its coming is indeed no cause for surprise, but on the contrary it is rather remarkable that the place it is designed to fill has so long stood empty; and it is known that such a work has been for some years in contemplation, but has been delayed for a variety of causes. Its publication is a sign, additional to many others that have appeared during late years, of the purpose of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood not to permit their cause to suffer before English-speaking people through any default of the needed defense. If, as they say, their history has been written by their enemies, and their portraiture drawn in caricature, they seem to be determined that it shall be so no longer, and therefore they go at work to tell their own story, and to delineate for public observation the lineaments of their system, all of which they not only have the right to do, but they are bound to do it in fidelity to their trust.

It is a maxim of common observation that very much of a story is in the telling, and very few persons would wish to have their cases presented to even the most impartial tribunal by their confessed adversaries. It may also be presumed that our histories of the popes and of the Reformation, of the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day and of the crusades against the Waldenses, would read differently, though perhaps not more truthfully, in a Romish instead of a Protestant version. And so the Roman Catholics choose that their own people (and all others as well) may receive the account of these things from their friends.

The work is the joint production of two English scholars, who are named on the title-page. The American reprint has been carefully revised and corrected, and considerably enlarged by the addition of matters relating to affairs in this country, and the book bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinals Manning and McCloskey, so that the faithful may be assured of the safety of what is given

them. As a literary production it is decidedly praiseworthy, learned, and well written. Its temper, too, is admirable, being quite free from the belligerency and the sneering manner that are often so offensively conspicuous in even the higher class of Roman Catholic productions, at least in this country. Though it is a manifest design of the whole work to present to both Catholic and Protestant readers the Romanist version of the thousands of facts and doctrinal statements which have become commonplaces in the public mind, and by so doing to reverse or modify the popular judgment respecting them, still there is very little ostensible pleading, but a kind of quiet assumption that here is the truth, and all to the contrary must be set aside; and for its purpose this is admirably done—skillfully, some would say; others, jesuitically.

As seen in this presentation of its many features, and the details of its history, and the statements of its practices, it is made to appear to the ordinary Protestant reader that Romanism is not so black as it has been painted. But any who come to the examination of the subject, not so much a learner as a critic, with sufficient knowledge of the matters treated of, will not fail to detect its specially apologetic character, not in its style, however, but in its substance. It is, in fact, a plea, but so conducted as to avoid all appearance of controversy, and so to disarm opposition; and without conceding the general truthfulness of the presentations made, it may be granted that not a few popular mistakes are corrected, and new light is thrown on many points usually not well understood.

But notwithstanding its learning and apparent liberality of views, it is quite manifest that this work is thoroughly and completely "ultramontane" in its character, as, indeed, must be every other *approved* Roman Catholic work. The absolute supremacy and the infallibility of the papacy, and for the time being of the pope personally, are every-where and always assumed, so making "obedience" in thought and action the one and sole duty of all the faithful, and alike those of high and low degree. What the pope declares must be accepted as certainly correct, whether in respect to faith or duty. Private judgment is presumption, and the learned criticism of the Scriptures is essential impiety. These things are not flaunted in this work, nor are they denied, but instead they are every-where tacitly assumed, and used on all occasions. This doctrine of papal supremacy makes reformation impossible, and in the presence of such infallibility the thought of error in the doctrines of the Church must be not only absurd.

but impious. For these reasons the Church of Rome is and must be out of harmony with the spirit of the nineteenth century. Its golden age was the Dark Ages, the era of unreasoning and uninquiring faith, and the progress of modern times has been made not simply in opposition to its spirit, but also despite its active resistance. That it feels the influence of the changed atmosphere of English-speaking Christendom, and realizes the necessity of adapting its speech to it, this learned and adroitly written dictionary is proof; and yet in presenting such a work its authors and promulgators have earned the thanks of all who ask for only the truth, and who desire that every interest may be fairly stated, so that it can be judged on its merits.

Miscellaneous.

Short History of Christian Missions: From Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D., F.R.G.S., etc. 12mo, pp. 226. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Within the lids of this little volume the compiler has brought together, in good order, but necessarily in the briefest form of words, a sketch of the principal evangelistic movements of the Church in all ages. As a catalogue and summary of facts and dates it will be useful, but it is quite too brief to answer the requirements of a history. The missions of the British Wesleyan Church are dispatched in twelve lines, and those of the Methodist Episcopal Church in eight.

The Life of St. Paul. By REV. JAMES STALKER, M.A., Kirkcaldy. 12mo, pp. 149. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This, as also that above noticed, is among the "Hand-books for Bible Classes and Private Students," prepared by Marcus Dods and Alexander Whyte. The work here given is valuable and suited to its design.

College Greek Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Following out the Chicago idea, Dr. Vincent has projected an "After-School Series" of readings, chiefly made up of the matter usually read in the school courses in Latin and Greek, translations of which Professor Wilkinson is putting into book shape. Two volumes appeared before the present one, containing respectively the Preparatory Course in Latin, and in Greek, done into good English. We now have the College Course in Greek, and that for the Latin is promised. The idea is a good one, and for

the class of persons for whom these books are designed they cannot fail to be useful.

A Vindication of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch. By CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.F., Professor in Hebrew in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 18mo, pp. 273. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is among the early replications—of which a multitude is sure to follow, of all degrees of ability—to the aggressive antagonism developed by the “Higher Criticism” against the traditional views of the Church respecting the authorship of the earlier books of the Bible. It is less elaborate than some others, and seems to be intended for general rather than for special students, and for the use of such its comparative brevity and its less elaborate methods may be real advantages.

How the Bible was Made. By the Rev. E. M. WOOD, D.D. 18mo, pp. 263. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A Methodist minister, occupied with the duties of the pastorate, finds time and occasion also to inform himself respecting the living questions of the times, especially in reference to the great truths of religion; and as just now the attacks of the enemy are directed against the Bible, so he comes to the defense by detailing the processes by which our Bible came into form. The book here offered does not pretend to originality as to its matter, but seeks to present old and well-known truths in such array as best to defeat the onsets of learned skepticism, and to point out to honest inquirers the grounds and reasons for their faith in the written word. It is a book that may be studied with profit.

Christina; or, the Persecuted Family. A Tale of Sorrow and Suffering, Founded on a Chapter in the History of the Vaudois; by Rev. J. DILLON. 16mo, pp. 232. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

A readable story, from that apparently inexhaustible mine of religious romance, the history of the Vaudois,

“Who kept God’s word so faithfully of old,
When all our fathers wor-shipped stocks and stones.”

The Doctrines of God’s Holy Word, as Held in the Methodist Episcopal Church. By REV. JAMES MUDGE, B.D. 12mo, pp. 87. Lucknow, (India:) American Methodist Mission Press.

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